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CATALOGUE

OF THE

COINS OF THE GUPTA DYNASTIES

AND OF ŚAŚĀṄKA, KING OF GAUḌA

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LETTERPRESS AND PLATES PRINTED
AT OXFORD BY HORACE HART M.A.

PREFACE

THIS volume of the Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, describing the coins of the Gupta dynasties, is entirely the work of Mr. John Allan, Assistant in the Department of Coins and Medals.

In order to make the Catalogue as complete a work of reference as possible, important varieties in other cabinets have been described in the text and illustrated in the plates.

The size of the coins is given in inches and tenths, and the weight in English grains. Concordances with other systems of measurement are given at the end of the volume.

I have compared the descriptions with the originals, and have read the proofs of the whole volume.

G. F. HILL,
Keeper of Coins.

BRITISH MUSEUM,
April, 1914.

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ERRATA

P. xii, l. 28, *for* Sir Richard Rivett-Carnac *read* Colonel J. H. Rivett-Carnac, C.I.E.

P. 135, l. 5, *for* perhaps ... PURAGUPTA *read* (see Introduction, §§ 56–9).

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INTRODUCTION

I. SCOPE AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE CATALOGUE.

§ 1. THE present volume of the Catalogue of Indian Coins contains the following series:—

i. The Gupta dynasty.
ii. The Guptas of Eastern Mālwa.
iii. Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa.
iv. Certain unattributed coins of Gupta fabric.

§ 2. By far the most important of these is the series of coins of the Gupta dynasty, the Museum collection of which, though lacking one or two unique coins in other museums, is unrivalled. In view of the fragmentary nature of the legends, the rarity of many of the types, and the desirability of making this Catalogue as complete as possible, a number of specimens from other collections are included where necessary to supplement the Museum collection.[1]

§ 3. The foundations of the Gupta collection in the Museum were laid about 1783 by a donation from Warren Hastings of

[1] In this connexion I have to acknowledge the services of M. A. Dieudonné, Prof. H. Nützel, and Prof. O. Retowski, who kindly supplied me with casts of the Gupta coins in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, and the Ermitage Impérial respectively. The Indian Museum collection is now accessible in Mr. Vincent A. Smith's Catalogue; I am indebted to Mr. G. D. Ganguli, Curator of the Lucknow Museum, for a list of the fine collection in his charge. The Hon. Mr. Burn, I.C.S., Mr. W. E. M. Campbell, I.C.S., and Dr. W. Hoey, I.C.S. (retd.), have allowed me to examine their collections, while the first-named also gave me an opportunity of examining the Mirzapur hoard. Mr. Falconer Madan allowed me to examine the Bodleian collection, to which one or two additions have been made since Prof. E. J. Rapson published it in 1891.

a number of late Gupta coins from the Kālighāt hoard: the acquisitions from the Banks and Payne Knight collections may be also traced to this hoard. The donation of the Marsden collection in 1843 added a number of important coins and made the series for the first time fairly representative. The purchase in 1847 of the entire collection formed by James Prinsep enriched the Museum Gupta series with over thirty coins, most of which had been described in Prinsep's articles in the *J.A.S.B.*, the gems of the collection being the fine 'Retreating Lion' of Candragupta II and the Swordsman type of Kumāragupta I. The Eden collection, acquired in 1853, included, amongst other rarities, the Tiger type of Samudragupta; this collection was formed by George Eden, first Earl of Auckland, Governor-General of India 1836–41, and was purchased in 1853 from his sister, the Hon. Miss Emily Eden, novelist and traveller, who accompanied her brother to India. In 1850 the collection formed by Edward Thomas was purchased. A small purchase from Captain Swiney in 1869 may be mentioned here, as it contained a number of the coins collected by Dr. Swiney and described by Prof. H. H. Wilson in his *Ariana Antiqua*.

In 1882, the Secretary of State for India in Council presented the India Office collection of Oriental coins at the Indian Office; most of the Gupta coins in this series appear to have come from the Bharsar hoard. General Sir Alexander Cunningham's munificent bequest in 1894 further enriched the Gupta series. In 1910 the fine collection formed by Mr. H. Nelson Wright was acquired, including many rare and valuable coins. In conclusion, to the generosity of Mr. (now Sir) Richard Rivett-Carnac the Museum owes some of its rarest coins, notably the so-called Two Queens (here called Pratāpa) type of Kumāragupta I, and the coin of Vīrasena Kramāditya.

§ 4. The Royal collection in St. Petersburg practically consists of the collection formed by Mr. Alex. Grant and of the White King collection, both of which were purchased *en bloc*; the Berlin

collection contains amongst other acquisitions a small collection formed by Prof. Bühler, while the collection formed by Mr. Vincent Smith is included in the Paris collection. The Clive Bayley collection, to which reference is occasionally made, has recently been purchased by M. Subow of Moscow. The Lucknow collection, recently enriched by the Mirzapur and Ballia hoards, consists chiefly of coins acquired by the Treasure Trove Laws of the United Provinces. The fine private collections which have been laid under contribution for this volume have been formed in the United Provinces.

§ 5. Particulars of acquisition of all coins are given where they are of the slightest interest, as well as particulars of previous publications and any available information about provenance. The information available under the latter head is unfortunately by no means so plentiful as might be wished.

§ 6. As the dies were, apparently, as is still the case with coinages of the modern native states of India, larger than the flans, few coins have complete legends, and the great majority bear only a fragment of the full legend. Before describing the actual coins of any particular type, a typical coin is described with the legends restored as far as possible; the actual coins then follow with their readings. Letters are restored when sufficient traces remain to justify their insertion; the superscript vowel signs frequently do not appear on the coin even when there is room for them, they are only given in the descriptions of the coins when they actually appear on the coin; it will be clear from a comparison with the completed legend at the top whether the vowel following any consonant is *a* or whether a vowel-mark is omitted.

§ 7. As the majority of the legends are metrical, missing *akṣaras* are represented by a long or short vowel-mark according to the metrical length of the missing syllable; it should be noted that this method is also adopted in legends which are not metrical.

§ 8. The method adopted by Rapson in his *Catalogue of Coins of the Andhras, &c.*, of marking the beginning of the legend by the corresponding hour figure of a clock has been followed in this Catalogue in the descriptions of the silver coins; coins with legends beginning in the same position are grouped together, and the hour-hand indication is given only with the first of the group.

II. HISTORY AND CHRONOLOGY.

1. Gupta to Candragupta I.

§ 9. Very little is definitely known regarding the origin and rise of the Gupta dynasty. The genealogical lists given in the various inscriptions agree in tracing the foundation of the dynasty to the Mahārāja Gupta. From the distinction made between the title *mahārāja* of Gupta and his successor Ghaṭotkaca and *mahārājādhirāja*, which is applied to the later members of the dynasty, it may be assumed that he was not a paramount sovereign but a feudatory.[1] His territory probably lay around Pāṭaliputra, which may have been his capital. Though Lassen had pointed out (*Indische Altertumskunde*, ii, p. 943) that this king's name was simply Gupta and not Śrīgupta, this view was not universally accepted till the publication of Fleet's notes on the point in *I.A.*, xiv, p. 94, and *C.I.I.*, iii, pp. 8, 9, note 3; it is now possible to quote examples of the use of *Gupta* alone as a proper name to supplement Fleet's arguments; Gupta was the name of the father of the celebrated Buddhist saint, Upagupta[2]; in the *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 814, Pl. VI. 23, Rapson published a seal with the legend *Gutasya*, a mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit for a Sanskrit *Guptasya*; Dr. Hoernle possesses a clay seal reading *Śrīr Guptasya*,[3] which must be of the third century A. D., as this construction appears to be obsolete in the fourth century.

[1] Fleet, *C.I.I.*, iii, p. 15, note 4.

[2] *Divyāvadāna*, ed. Cowell and Neil, pp. 348 ff.

[3] On *Śrīḥ* with genitive for *Śrī* with compound, cf. Rapson, *J.R.A.S.*, 1901, p. 99.

§ 10. I-Tsing, the Chinese pilgrim, who travelled in India in A. D. 671–695, mentions a 'great king' (*mahārāja*), Śrī-Gupta (*Che-li-ki-to*), who built a temple near Mṛgaśikhāvana for some Chinese pilgrims whose piety he had remarked. This temple, the ruins of which were still known in I-Tsing's time as the 'Temple of China', was endowed by the king with twenty-four large villages; the foundation of the temple took place 'about' five hundred years before the writer's time.[1] Fleet[2] rejects the identification of this monarch with Gupta on the grounds that (*a*) the former's name is Śrī-Gupta, and (*b*) I-Tsing's date would place him about A. D. 175, which is, of course, too early. It is not, however, necessary to regard the Śrī here as an integral part of the name (= *Śriyā guptaḥ*); it is frequently used as an honorific by the Chinese writers, and the arguments applied to the expression in the inscriptions are equally valid here to show that the name of the king referred to by I-Tsing was Gupta. The chronological difficulty is at first sight more serious. I-Tsing's statement, however, is a vague one and, as Chavannes (note 2) points out, not to be taken too literally. Gupta must have been reigning in the latter half of the third century A. D., or about four centuries before I-Tsing wrote. Considering the lapse of time and the fact that the Chinese pilgrim gives the statement on the authority of a 'tradition handed down from ancient times by old men' there seems no reason to doubt the identification on chronological grounds.[3] Another important argument in favour of the identification is that the lands of the patron of the Chinese pilgrims must have lain within the Gupta territory, and it is unlikely that we should have had two different rulers in the same territory of the same name within so brief a period; had the

[1] Beal, *J.R.A.S.*, 1882, p. 571; Chavannes, *Mémoires sur les Religieux éminents, etc., par I-Tsing*, 1894, pp. 82-3, note 3; Dr. J. Takakusu, *Translation of I-Tsing's Record of the Buddhist Religion*, &c., 1896, p. liv, places the date of composition of the Memoirs in A. D. 691–2.

[2] *C.I.I.*, iii, p. 8, note 2.

[3] Vincent Smith assumes the identity in his *Revised Chronology, I.A.*, 1902, p. 258, but does not mention the point in his *E.H.I.*[2]

Gupta mentioned by I-Tsing been an ancestor of and not identical with Gupta, he must have appeared in some of the genealogical lists.

§ 11. In our present ignorance of the history of Northern India in the third century A. D. it is quite impossible to trace the rise to power of the founder of the Gupta dynasty. It seems certain that the Kushan or Tukhāra empire stretched as far to the south-east as Magadha (cf. § 2?), and the Gupta kingdom was probably one of many which rose to practical independence with the decline of Kushan power in the second and third centuries A. D. According to the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*,[1] names ending in *-gupta* are characteristic of the Vaiśya and Śūdra castes; these rules, however, were by no means inflexible, and exceptions may be quoted[2]; on the other hand Candragupta Maurya was certainly of low caste origin, as his name would imply, and it is very possible that the history of the rise of the founder of the Gupta dynasty closely resembles that of the great Maurya.[3]

We have no means of fixing the limits of Gupta's reign accurately; Vincent Smith[4] suggests A. D. 275–300, which must be approximately correct.

§ 12. Gupta's son and successor was the Mahārāja Ghaṭotkaca. Nothing is known of the events of his reign. It was suggested by the late Dr. Bloch[5] that he may be identical with the Ghaṭotkacagupta whose name was found on a seal at Vaiśālī, and this view has been adopted by Vincent Smith.[6] The seal in question bears the inscription *Śrī-Ghaṭotkacaguptasya*. It is remarkable in the first place that, if Ghaṭotkaca were known as Ghaṭotkacagupta, he should not be given this name in any known

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[1] Transl. Wilson, p. 298.

[2] e. g. Fleet, *C.I.I.*, iii, p. 11, note 1.

[3] The Buddhist saint Upagupta was also of low caste origin, being the son of Gupta, a *gāndhika* or vendor of scent (*Divyāvadāna*, loc. cit.).

[4] *I.A.*, 1902, p. 258.

[5] *Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1903–4, p. 102.

[6] *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 153; *E.H.I.*[2], p. 266, note 2.

inscription. We must further consider the date of the seals found at Vaiśālī along with that of Ghaṭotkacagupta. The most important of these, and the one which gives the key to the date of the whole collection, is a seal of the 'Mahādevī Dhruvasvāminī, queen of the Mahārājādhirāja Candragupta [II] and mother of the Mahārāja Govindagupta'. Dhruvasvāminī is clearly the Dhruvadevī of the inscriptions,[1] and the date of the seal may be placed towards the end of the reign of Candragupta II, the latter being still alive, and Govindagupta governor of Vaiśālī for his father. Many of the seals are clearly those of contemporary officials of Govindagupta's court. D. R. Bhandarkar[2] is apparently right in suggesting that the place where the seals were found was the office of the person entrusted with the duty of making seals. It is most unlikely that he would have in his possession a seal of a king who had lived nearly a century before, particularly as no seals were found which might be assumed to be intermediate in date. There is really no reason, then, to identify Ghaṭotkaca with the Ghaṭotkacagupta of the seal. The latter was probably a member of the royal family, as he bears the honorific *Śrī*, while the absence of some such title as *mahārāja* affords further proof that he cannot be Ghaṭotkaca; he probably held some office at the court of the *yuvarāja* and was possibly called after Ghaṭotkaca. The name Ghaṭotkaca is not a common one, but is prominent in the Mahābhārata as the name of the son of Bhīmasena by Hiḍimbā, a *rakṣasī*. His date may be conjectured to be A. D. 300–320.[3]

§ 13. Ghaṭotkaca was succeeded by his son Candragupta I. He is distinguished in the inscriptions from his predecessor by the title *mahārājādhirāja*, indicative of paramount sovereignty. His queen is the first of the line to be mentioned in the genealogical lists; she was the Mahādevī Kumāradevī, daughter of Licchavi.

[1] Cf. the names Muruṇḍadevī and Muruṇḍasvāminī applied to the mother of Śarvanātha in two of his inscriptions (Fleet, *C.I.I.*, iii, p. 127, l. 6, and p. 131, l. 6).

[2] *I.A.*, 1912, p. 3.

[3] Vincent Smith, *I.A.*, 1902, p. 258.

Samudragupta in his Allahabad inscription describes himself as 'Licchavidauhitra', the son of the daughter of Licchavi, and the same epithet is regularly applied to him by his successors in their inscriptions. The title *mahādevī* applied to Kumāradevī appears to correspond to *Mahārājādhirāja* and to be the prerogative of queens of paramount sovereigns; cf. for example the Asirgadh seal[1] of the Maukhari king Śarvavarman, in which the wives of *mahārāja*s are regularly given the title *devī*, while the queens of *mahārājādhirāja*s bear the title *mahādevī*. This distinction does not appear to have been maintained at a later period; in the Sonpat[2] seal of Harṣavardhana, for example, the titles *devī* and *mahādevī* are both applied to the queens of *mahārājādhirāja*s.[3]

§ 14. The union of Candragupta I with the Licchavi family is further commemorated by a series of Samudragupta's coins (see §§ 70 ff.) having on the obverse standing figures of Candragupta and Kumāradevī with their names, and on the reverse a figure of Lakṣmī seated on a lion with the legend *Licchavayaḥ*,[4] 'the Licchavis'. The Licchavis are not mentioned in the Purāṇas; it seems evident from Manu, x. 22, that Brahmanic tradition regarded the Kṣatriyas of Magadha and Nepal as unorthodox. In the early history of Buddhism and Jainism they play an important part, however, as an illustrious family ruling at Vaiśālī. Nothing is known of their history during the centuries intervening till they reappear in connexion with the marriage of Candragupta.

§ 15. It is evident from the pride with which it is mentioned by his successors that this union marked an epoch in the fortunes

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[1] Fleet, *C.I.I.*, iii, no. 47.

[2] *Ibid.*, no. 52.

[3] On this point cf. also Fleet, *C.I.I.*, iii, p. 16, note 2.

[4] According to Vincent Smith (*I.A.*, 1912, p. 258, no. 7) the form *Licchivayaḥ* is found on a coin in the Rivett-Carnac collection in the Indian Museum, but it is not specified in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, vol. i, pp. 99–100; this form, though rarer, is however also found; cf. Fleet, *C.I.I.*, iii, p. 16, note 1; S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, ii, p. 88, note 1; and Bühler, *Laws of Manu* (*S.B.E.*), x. 22, note.

of the Gupta family. Whether, as Vincent Smith[1] suggests, the Licchavis at this time actually held Pāṭaliputra and that through his marriage Candragupta succeeded to the power of his wife's relatives may be doubted. I-Tsing's evidence (§ 10) suggests that Pāṭaliputra was in the possession of the Guptas even in Gupta's time. It is evident from Candragupta's assumption of the title *mahārājādhirāja* that he considerably extended his comparatively small ancestral dominions by conquest, and it may be suggested that the adjoining kingdom of Vaiśālī was one of his earliest conquests, and that his marriage with Kumāradevī was one of the terms of the treaty of peace. Too much emphasis should not be laid on the pride of the Guptas in their Licchavi blood, but it was probably due rather to the ancient lineage of the Licchavis than to any material advantages gained by this alliance.

§ 16. No inscriptions or other records of Candragupta's reign are known which might have given us details of the extent of his conquests; but from our knowledge of Samudragupta's conquests it may be deduced that his father ruled the Ganges Valley from the mouth of the Jumna (Prayāga) to Pāṭaliputra; it seems to be to his reign that the verses in the Purāṇas[2] defining the Gupta dominions refer.

§ 17. It is from the reign of Candragupta I that the Gupta era dates; the first year of this era ran from February 26, 320, to March 15, 321,[3] which is assumed to be the first year of Candragupta I's reign. It is not correct to say with Vincent Smith[4] that Candragupta I founded the Gupta era, dating from his formal

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[1] *E.H.I.*[2], pp. 265–6.

[2] Anugaṅgāprayāgaṁ māgadhāguptāśca bhokṣyanti (*Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, transl. H. H. Wilson, 1840, p. 479, note 70);

Anugangāprayāgaṁ ca sāketaṁ magadhāṁs tathā
Etāñ janapadān sarvān bhokṣyante guptavaṁśajāḥ

(*Vāyu-Purāṇa*, quoted by Wilson, *ibid.*); cf. also Vincent Smith, *I.A.*, 1902, p. 258, note 7.

[3] Fleet, *C.I.I.*, iii, Introduction; *I.A.*, 1891, pp. 376–89.

[4] *E.H.I.*[2], p. 266; *Imperial Gazetteer*, ii, p. 290.

consecration, as evidence of his increased political importance. As Fleet[1] has emphasized, the Gupta era, like other eras, simply grew out of the habit of dating in regnal years. On the death of the founder of an era the date formula was retained, and the reckoning was allowed to run on mechanically in his successor's reign, as is clear from such expressions as *Śrī-Candragupta-rājyasamvatsare* 80 8 (literally, in the 88th year of the reign of Candragupta) in Candragupta II's Gaḍhwā inscription[2] and the numerous other examples given by Fleet. It is most probable that Candragupta I did not assume the title *Mahārājādhirāja* immediately on his succession to his father, but only did so after some expansion of his ancestral dominions, which must have occupied several years. The era, however, must date from the first year of his reign and not from any ceremonial *abhiṣeka* as *mahārājādhirāja*[3]; in support of this we may cite the case of Harṣavardhana, whose era is known to date not from his coronation in 612, but from his accession six years earlier in October, 606. This is a further argument for accepting Fleet's date of A.D. 335 for the death of Candragupta I.

2. Samudragupta.

§ 18. Candragupta I was succeeded by his son Samudragupta, who was destined to rule one of the greatest empires India has ever seen. It is clear from the Allahabad inscription and from the epithet *tatparigṛhita* applied to Samudragupta in other inscriptions, that the prince was selected from among his sons by Candragupta I as best fitted to succeed him, so that he may not necessarily have been his eldest son.

We are fortunate in possessing for the history of his reign an epigraphic record, unique among Indian annals in its wealth of detail. This is the Allahabad inscription, an elaborate Sanskrit composition in verse and prose inscribed on a stone pillar which

[1] Fleet, *C.I.I.*, iii, p. 38, note 5. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

[3] If it does, Vincent Smith's chronology here accepted for the two preceding reigns would have to be modified as follows: Gupta, A.D. 270–290, Ghaṭotkaca, A.D. 290–310, Candragupta I, as *mahārāja*, A.D. 290–320.

had been set up six hundred years before by Aśoka and inscribed with his edicts. It gives a detailed account of Samudragupta's conquests, which, although not professedly chronological nor accurately geographical in arrangement, enables us to form a clear idea of the development and extent of his empire.[1]

§ 19. The inscription opens with a vivid account of the selection of Samudragupta as *Yuvarāja* by his father in the presence of the whole court.[2] His conquests are then detailed under four heads which are on the whole geographical, though the principle of arrangement appears rather to be the result or degree of the conquest; thus we have (*a*) (second in the inscription, l. 21) those kings who were slain and whose kingdoms were incorporated in Samudragupta's dominions; (*b*) (l. 19) kings who were defeated and taken prisoners, but reinstated as tributaries to Samudragupta; (*c*) (l. 22) the 'frontier kings', who appear to have come to submit voluntarily and pay homage to the victorious monarch; (*d*) (l. 23) more distant monarchs, who may have been defeated by Samudragupta in battle and who certainly saw the necessity of keeping on good terms with him.

§ 20. It is impossible with the material at our disposal to identify all the kings and kingdoms mentioned in the inscriptions: they have been discussed by Fleet in the notes to his edition of the inscription and by Vincent Smith in his paper on the 'Conquests of Samudragupta' (*J.R.A.S.*, 1897, pp. 859 ff.). In l. 21 we read that 'his majesty had been increased by violently uprooting Rudradeva, Matila, Nāgadatta, Candravarman, Gaṇapatināga, Nāgasena, Acyuta, Nandi, Balavarman and many other kings of Āryāvarta', and that he 'made all the kings of the forest countries his

[1] On the importance of this inscription as a dated document of Kāvya literature cf. Bühler, 'Die indischen Inschriften und das Alter der indischen Kunstpoesie,' pp. 38-45, Abhandlung XI of the *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*: philos.-hist. Classe, vol. cxxii, Vienna, 1890.

[2] Der Vers gehört zu dem Besten was die Inder in der poetischen Miniaturmalerei, ihrer Hauptstärke, geleistet haben (Bühler, *op. cit.*, p. 38).

servants'. Of all these kings only Gaṇapatinaga, king of Padmāvatī or Narwar, can be identified with certainty; his coins are still numerous. Rapson[1] has proposed to identify the Nāgasena mentioned here with the Nāgasena 'heir to the Nāga house'[2] in Padmāvatī whose downfall is given as one of the examples of 'disasters due to mistaken carelessness' in the *Harṣacarita*.[3] (His ruin was caused through the publication of his policy by a *śārikā* bird.) Rapson[4] had previously suggested, in pointing out the strong resemblance of the Acyuta coins to those of the Nāgas, that as Nāgadatta and Nāgasena also may have been members of the same family, all the nine kings here mentioned may have been Nāgas and that the term 'Nine Nāgas'[5] might refer to a confederacy rather than a dynasty. It is, however, only a coincidence that the number of kings mentioned by name in the inscription is nine, as the reference to the 'other kings of the forest country' shows, and it must not be forgotten that we have coins of five and possibly seven other kings whose names end in -nāga, similar to those of Gaṇapatināga, and that these coins all come from Narwar.[6] Bāṇa's language also clearly implies a Nāga dynasty (*Nāgakula*) of Padmāvatī. There seems to be no reason to doubt the existence of a Nāga dynasty whose capital was Padmāvatī, and if we translate *Nāgakulajanmanaḥ* as 'heir to the Nāga house' we cannot identify Bāṇa's Nāgasena with the Nāgasena of the inscription, as he would then be a descendant or ancestor of Gaṇapatināga and not a contemporary; it is possibly to be simply translated 'a member of the Nāga house', i.e. a brother or cousin of Gaṇapatināga, ruling a separate area, and we should thus be able to accept the identification.

§ 21. Certain small copper coins bearing the syllables *acyu* found only at the site of Ahicchatrā have been attributed with

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[1] *J.R.A.S.*, 1898, p. 449. [2] Nāgakulajanmanaḥ Nāgasenasya (vi. 160).
[3] Transl. Cowell and Thomas, p. 192. [4] *J.R.A.S.*, 1897, p. 421.
[5] Viṣṇupurāṇa (ed. Wilson, p. 479). [6] Cunningham, *C.M.I.*, pp. 21 et seq.

considerable probability by Rapson[1] and Vincent Smith[2] to the Acyuta of the inscription, who would thus have been king of Ahicchatrā. It has been suggested[3] that Matila may be identical with the Mattila of the seal found in Bulandshahr, but the absence of any honorific on the latter suggests that it is a private seal and not one of a royal personage. Lines 13, 14 of the inscription, which are damaged, seem to deal with the same campaign; we are again told that he extirpated Acyuta and Nāgasena and captured the scion of the family of Kota with his armies. The remainder of the verse seems to mean that he rested on his laurels for a period in (the city) 'named Puṣpa',[4] which is most probably Pāṭaliputra.

§ 22. The subjugation of 'all the kings of the forest country',[5] roughly equivalent to the modern Central India, and the kings of the south was probably his next campaign. Lines 19, 20 give a list of the kings whom he overthrew and state that the glory which he gained from their capture was increased by his magnanimity in releasing them. The first to be subdued on his southward march was king Mahendra of Kośala; of the kings of the forest country only Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra is mentioned by name. Overthrowing Mahendra of Piṣṭapura, in the Godavari district, Mantarāja of Kaurala[6] (the district round the modern lake Kolleru), Nīlarāja of Avamukta, and Hastivarman of Veṅgī on his southward march he reached the lands of Viṣṇugopa, the Pallava king of Kanchi, who was likewise defeated, and the victorious monarch then turned westward. Passing through the kingdom of Ugrasena of Palakka, perhaps in the modern Nellore district, on his homeward journey, he overthrew Kubera of Devarāṣṭra and Damaṇa of Eraṇḍapalla[7] (Erandol in the

[1] *J.R.A.S.*, 1897, p. 420. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 862; *I.M.C.*, i, pp. 185, 186.
[3] Growse, *I.A.*, xviii, p. 289, quoting Fleet; Fleet, *Imperial Gazetteer*, ii, p. 39.
[4] Mazumdar, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, p. 332, compares *Ragh.*, vi. 20-4, where the residence of the *Magadheśvara* is said to be Puṣpapura.
[5] Cf. Fleet, *C.I.I.*, iii, p. 13, note 7. [6] Cf. Kielhorn, *I.A.*, vi. p. 3, note 3.
[7] Fleet, *J.R.A.S.*, 1898, pp. 368-9.

Khandesh district), amongst others. The dominions of these kings and of 'all the kings of the south' do not appear to have been incorporated in Samudragupta's empire as were those of their less fortunate neighbours in the north; the language of the inscription implies that the monarch reinstated them, probably on the payment of heavy tribute.

§ 23. In l. 22 of the inscription we have a list of the 'frontier kings' (*pratyantanṛpati*) of the east and north, and the republican communities of the west and south-west, who appear to have voluntarily submitted to Samudragupta and paid homage and thus to have escaped being 'forcibly extirpated'. On the east was the kingdom of Samaṭaṭa, with Davāka to the north of it, and further to the north-east Kāmarupa (Assam); to the north were Nepāla (Nepal) and Kartṛpura, the name of which may still survive in Kartārpur in the Jalandhar district.

To the north-west were the Yaudheyas and Mādrakas in the Panjab, with the Mālavas, Arjunāyanas, and Abhīras[1] to the south of them. The lands of the Prārjunas, Sanakānīkas, Kākas, and Kharaparikas lay to the south, probably in Malwa and the Central Provinces. A clue to the locality of the Sanakānīkas (or Sanakānikas) is given by the Udayagiri inscription of Sanakānika mahārāja (– – – –)ḍhala (?) or ḍhāla (?), a feudatory of Candragupta II.

§ 24. In l. 23 we again have a reference to Samudragupta's magnanimity to those he defeated; his panegyrist says, 'His fame, which pervades the whole world, is due to his re-establishing many royal families whom he had overthrown and deprived of sovereignty.' This probably does not refer specially to the distant monarchs referred to in the following lines, where we are told that 'the binding together of the whole world by his strong arm was effected by the acts of homage, such as self-sacrifice, the bringing of gifts of maidens, the soliciting of charters confirming them

[1] On the Abhīras cf. Rapson, *C.A. & W.K.*, p. cxxxiv, note 1.

in the enjoyment of their territories, bearing the Garuḍa seal,[1] &c., rendered by the Daivaputras, Ṣāhis, Ṣāhānuṣāhis, Śakas, and Muruṇḍas and by the people of Siṅhaḷa and all the dwellers in the islands'.

§ 25. Whether the rulers of these kingdoms were actually conquered by Samudragupta and restored to power again, or whether they simply saw the necessity of keeping on friendly relations with him, and sent him presents which his panegyrist describes as tribute, is not clear from the language of the inscription; it seems certain from Chinese sources[2] that in the case of the king of Ceylon the relations were entirely friendly; the latter sent gifts to Samudragupta with a request to be allowed to build a monastery at Bodh Gayā for the convenience of pilgrims from Ceylon; Samudragupta granted this request, and it is clearly this embassy that is referred to in the inscription as bringing gifts from 'the people of Siṅhaḷa and all the dwellers in the islands'. On the other hand it is probable that his relations with some, at least, of the others were not so friendly. That he penetrated far into the territory of the Śakas of the north, and probably of the Devaputra too, is clear from the influence of their coinage on his. The name Śakas, for example, may include the Western Kṣatrapas of Saurāṣṭra,[3] and as Samudragupta's conquests are known to have extended up to the frontier of Kṣatrapa territory he may have paved the way for his son's annexation of their kingdom by defeating them in battle, though he did not make a permanent conquest.

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[1] This seems to be the proper translation; we must take all that follows *dāna* with the next verbal noun *yācana*, and translate as above. Garutmadaṅka is not a coin of any kind, nor indeed, with the exception of certain silver coins with the Garuḍa on the reverse, are there any coins on which the bird is prominent enough for the coin to be described as 'having the Garuḍa for its type'.

[2] Sylvain Lévi, 'Les Missions de Wang-Hiuen Tse dans l'Inde,' *Journ. Asiatique*, 1900, pp. 406, 411, discussed by V. A. Smith in the *Ind. Ant.*, 1902, pp. 192–7, and quoted p. 194.

[3] Vincent Smith, *J.R.A.S.*, 1897, p. 401; Rapson, *C.A.* & *W.K.*, pp. v, note 1, and cl.

§ 26. The identification of the kingdoms and peoples[1] included in the compound '*Daivaputra-Ṣāhi-Ṣāhānuṣāhi-Śaka-Muruṇḍ-aiḥ*' is a matter of considerable difficulty, and cannot be made with absolute certainty. There can be no doubt that they are the representatives of the various Śaka and Kushan peoples who had invaded India four centuries before and gradually overrun Northern India; at one time practically the whole of Northern India[2] was under their sway, but by the end of the third century A.D. their power, and the territory that owned their suzerainty, must have been much more limited, and it was an easy task for Samudragupta to win back the land that had once been under foreign rule; Magadha still seems to have been tributary to them as late as A.D. 250.[3] The three first members of the compound were originally titles and not ethnics like the last two; they were the titles of the great Kushan emperors Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, and Vāsudeva. *Daivaputra* is the Indian equivalent of the Chinese Imperial title *t'ien-tzu*, 'son of heaven', adopted by the Kushans from the Chinese; *Ṣāhānuṣāhi*, 'king of kings', is the well-known Iranian title of suzerain power which had been transmitted by the Scythian rulers[4] of Bactria and India to their Kushan successors. It had long been familiar in North-Western India in the Greek, Iranian, and Prakrit forms ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, ϸΑΟ ΝΑΝΟϸΑΟ, and *rajatiraja* on coins and inscriptions, and was adopted as a title of suzerainty by the Guptas in the Sanskrit form *mahārājādhirāja*; *Ṣāhi* is the element of which the compound *Ṣāhānuṣāhi* is formed, and *Ṣāhi-Ṣāhanuṣāhi* is the Iranian

[1] The whole compound is, of course, open to such translations as the 'Muruṇḍa (king) who is a Śaka and whose titles are *daivaputra*', &c., or 'the Muruṇḍa and the Śaka whose titles are', &c., according to the decomposition of the compound; it is practically certain, however, as will be seen above, that five distinct peoples are referred to, with the possible reservation that *Ṣāhi-Ṣāhānuṣāhi* should be taken as one and not two members of the compound.

[2] Kennedy, *J.R.A.S.*, 1912, p. 682.

[3] Ibid., p. 1057.

[4] From them it may be traced back through the Parthians and Achaemenids to a much earlier period.

equivalent of *mahārāja-rājādhirāja*; thus we find *maharaja-rajadiraja* as a title of Kadphises II and of the Kaniṣka of the Ara inscription, and *rajadiraja ṣahi* as a title of Vāsudeva.

§ 27. There is some evidence to show that by the third and fourth centuries these titles were no longer those of one great suzerain, but had each become the peculiar title of the ruler of one of the smaller states into which the Kushan empire had been broken up, and were as characteristic as Shah or Sultan at the present day. The Chinese historians frequently mention the Devaputra (*ti-pouo-jo-tan-lo*) of India, and it is clear that they mean the king whose title is *devaputra* and not vaguely the emperor (*t'ien-tzu*) of India; he is, as Sylvain Lévi[1] has shown, also known as *tchen-t'an*, which is synonymous. Mr. Kennedy[2] suggests that the 'son of heaven' of India is to be located in the Panjab, as a Chinese historian of the fourth century describes this country as famous for its elephants. Although it is not certain that the Chinese historian does not simply use the title with the meaning 'great emperor' here rather than with the specified meaning of a king whose title is *devaputra*, in which case the reference is probably to the Gupta emperor, this localization is most probable on other grounds.

§ 28. The Kidāra Kushans adopted the title *Ṣāhi*; although their invasion is later than Samudragupta's reign, as their coins certainly are, they presumably borrowed the title, which survived down to Muhammadan times and seems to have been particularly associated with Gandhāra, from their predecessors, so that there is some evidence that *Ṣāhi* was the peculiar title of one branch of the Kushan race. While it is possible that *Ṣāhi-Ṣāhānuṣāhi* is the

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[1] *Mélanges Charles de Harlez*, p. 183; cf. also Chavannes, I Tsing, *Mémoires*, p. 56, note. *Tchen-t'an* is a Chinese reproduction of *Cin-thān*>*Cīnā-ṭṭhāna* from *Cīna-sthāna*, the learned Sanskrit name of China, also applicable to the Emperor of China as a *tadrāja* compound and thus a synonym of *devaputra*.

[2] *J.R.A.S.*, 1912, p. 682; 1913, p. 1062.

title of one great king, presumably not in India as he still uses the Iranian title, it is probable that the latter member of the compound refers to a different ruler.

Vincent Smith suggests that he was either the Sassanian emperor Sapor II, who certainly used the title, or the king of the Kushans on the Oxus; we prefer the latter identification, but should regard him as king of Kābul rather than on the Oxus, if the two are not identical. There is no evidence of intercourse between the Gupta and Sassanian empires at this period, while we know that there was a powerful Kushan kingdom between them whose sympathies were with Persia [1] rather than India. The fact that Samudragupta's coins are strongly influenced by those of the Kushan kings of the Panjab, and seem quite uninfluenced by the OHÞO reverse of those of Kābul, is perhaps evidence that his arms did not penetrate so far. The Ṣāhānuṣāhi (or perhaps the Ṣāhi-Ṣāhānuṣāhi), whose Iranian title shows that he did not rule in India, where it would not have survived, is to be identified with the king of the Kushans whose kingdom stretched from the Indian borders to the Oxus.

§ 29. While the name Śakas may include the Western Kṣatrapas, it must more particularly designate those Śakas in the north who issued the coins of Kushan types with ARDOXÞO reverse, which formed the prototypes of Samudragupta's coinage. These coins bear the name *Śaka* in addition to Brāhmī letters in the field, which may be the initials of individual rulers; these coins have been found in Peshawar, Rawal Pindi, and the Swat Valley and Northern Panjab, but presumably circulated over a wider area southwards. The very similar coins with OHÞO reverse never bear the name Śaka and belong to another dynasty, most probably the Ṣāhānuṣāhi, as we find the Śiva reverse on the coins of Sassanian fabric which must certainly be attributed to the Kushan allies of the Sassanian empire, and these coins are found in the Kābul Valley.

[1] Kennedy, *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, p. 1061; and Drouin, *Rev. Num.*, 1896, pp. 164 ff.

§ 30. All available information on the Muruṇḍas has been collected by Sylvain Lévi [1] who shows, as their association here with the Śakas, &c., suggests, that they were a Scythic or Kushan people.[2] He recognizes the name in the Chinese *Meou-loun*, the title of the king of a country in India, in an account of a Chinese embassy to Fu-Nan (Siam) in the third century A.D. The Chinese envoys there met envoys who had just returned from India, whither they had been sent by the king of Fu-Nan, and received an account of India from them. Sylvain Lévi identifies the Muruṇḍas with the *Μαροῦνδαι* of Ptolemy (vii. 2. 14), who locates them on the left bank of the Ganges, south of the Gogra, down to the top of the delta; the French scholar shows that the Greek and Chinese accounts are in substantial agreement and are confirmed by the statements in the Jain books which designate the Muruṇḍa-rāja as ruler of Kanyākubja [3] and as residing in Pāṭaliputra.[4] The Chinese authority describes the Muruṇḍaraja as a monarch of great power whose suzerainty was owned by distant kingdoms, and the description of his capital seems to suggest Pāṭaliputra. The name Maruṇḍa, or Muruṇḍa, is found in the dynastic lists of the Purāṇas [5] among the races of foreign origin which have ruled India with the Śakas, Yavanas, and Tukhāras. The Matsya Purāṇa describes them as of foreign origin (*Mlecchasambhava*) and the Vāyu as Ārya-Mlecchas.

We have thus considerable evidence that in the early centuries of the Christian era the Muruṇḍa kingdom was a powerful one covering the greater part of the Ganges Valley, and that the dynasty was a foreign one.

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[1] 'Deux Peuples méconnus' in *Mélanges Charles de Harlez* (Leiden, 1896), pp. 176–85.

[2] This was first recognized by Wilford (*As. Res.*, viii. 113), who calls the Muruṇḍas 'a tribe of Huns', and identifies them with the Marundae of Ptolemy.

[3] *Siṅhāsanadvātriṅśikā*, ed. Weber, in *Indische Studien*, vol. xv, pp. 279–80.

[4] Merutuṅga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇī*, Bombay, 1888, p. 27.

[5] Maruṇḍas, Muruṇḍas (*Vāyu P.*); Puruṇḍas, Puraṇḍas (*Matsya P.*); Suruṇḍas, Guruṇḍas (*Bhāg. P.*); Svarṇḍas (*Brahmāṇḍa P.*); Muṇḍas (*Viṣṇu P.*).

It seems very probable that it was the decline of Muruṇḍa power that gave the Gupta dynasty its opportunity for expansion. By Samudragupta's time the centre of their power must have retreated northwards, otherwise it is difficult to account for their mention here with the *Daivaputra*, &c., unless it is due merely to recognition of their foreign origin. It is possible that we have to deal with two distinct peoples named Muruṇḍa, in which case we may accept Lassen's[1] identification of the Muruṇḍas as the people of Lampāka, a small country lying along the northern bank of the Kābul River, between the Aliyal and Kumar Rivers: but this may have been the last stronghold of the Tukhāra power that once ruled all Northern India from Kābul to the Ganges.

As Vincent Smith points out, the reference to the Muruṇḍas in the *Harivaṁśa* shows that in the seventh century A. D. the Muruṇḍas were still remembered as having played an important part in Indian history.

§ 31. These five kingdoms, then, may be very tentatively localized as follows: the Muruṇḍas in the Upper Ganges territory, to the N.W. of them the Śakas in the modern North-Western Province, part of Kashmir, and the northern part of the Panjab; the remainder of the Panjab was probably the territory of the Devaputra, while the Ṣāhi and Ṣāhānuṣāhi are to be placed beyond the modern Indian frontier, the former in Gandhāra and the latter at Kābul, though his territory probably stretched from the Indian frontier to the Oxus.

§ 32. The Eraṇ inscription,[2] our only other epigraphic record of Samudragupta's reign, is unfortunately in a very fragmentary condition; it commemorates the erection of some building in 'Airikiṇa, the city of his delight', by some one whose name has been destroyed but who may have been Samudragupta. The

[1] *Indische Altertumskunde*, i, p. 548, quoting Hemacandra, iv. 36; cf. also Vincent Smith in *J.R.A.S.*, 1897, pp. 984–6.

[2] Fleet, *C.I.I.*, iii, no. 2, pp. 19 ff.

surviving portion of the inscription is a short panegyric of Samudragupta, similar to that of Harisena in the Allahabad inscription. It was probably composed towards the end of his reign, as the allusion to distributions of gold (l. 7) may be a reference to the Aśvamedha sacrifice. In ll. 12, 13 we are told that he overthrew the whole tribe of kings on earth and deprived them of sovereignty, and there is another allusion to his conquests in l. 17 where he is said to have provided a dowry for his virtuous and faithful wife by his valour.

§ 33. It must have been on the conclusion of his victorious campaigns that Samudragupta celebrated the Horse-Sacrifice, which, as we are told in the inscriptions of his successors, had long been in abeyance. The gold coins struck on this occasion for distribution to the Brahmans still survive: these bear a figure of the horse to be sacrificed before an altar with a legend in the Upajāti metre, 'the mahārājādhirāja, of irresistible valour,[1] having conquered the earth (now) wins heaven' (i. e. by sacrifice, &c.); on the reverse is a figure of the queen who played an important part in the sacrifice and the legend *Aśvamedhaparākramaḥ* '(he whose) supremacy (has been established by the) Aśvamedha'. A seal bearing a horse and the legend *parākrama*, published by Rapson in the *J.R.A.S.*, 1901, p. 102, most probably refers to this sacrifice. The word *parākrama* was a favourite one with Samudragupta,[2] and seems to have been a title of his, as it is found on the reverse of his coins in the place occupied by the *Vikramāditya*, *Mahendra*, &c., of his successors. A stone figure of a horse found in Oudh and now in Lucknow, bearing an incomplete Prakrit legend – – – *adaguttasa deyadhamma*, may also refer to Samudragupta's sacrifice.[3] There seems to be no

[1] *Apratīvāryavīrya*; only the first syllable *apr* is visible on any known specimen, but the restoration is probably correct as it completes the couplet and is a known epithet of Samudragupta (Eraṇ inscription, l. 16).

[2] Cp. the legend of the Standard and Tiger types of his coins and Eraṇ inscription, l. 21, &c.

[3] V. A. Smith, *E.H.I.*[2], p. 273.

reference to the Aśvamedha sacrifice in the Allahabad inscription unless the *anekagośatasahasradāyinaḥ* of l. 25 be one, but it is significant also that there is no mention here of distributions of gold as in the Eraṇ inscription,[1] and in the inscriptions of his successors.[2] The inscription was probably engraved before the Aśvamedha was celebrated. When we further remember that even the earliest of Samudragupta's coins bear a reference to his conquests, it may be legitimately concluded that the coinage was instituted at a comparatively late period in the reign, when Samudragupta had returned enriched by the gold of Southern India and had become acquainted with the coins of his neighbours in the north-west, and possibly after the Allahabad inscription had been set up. As in the later inscriptions also, the term *apratiratha* 'invincible', 'unrivalled', is applied to Samudragupta in the Allahabad inscription; the term *aprativāryavīrya* in the Eraṇ inscription is synonymous. Even if we make all allowance for the exaggerations of his panegyrist it is evident that Samudragupta was a man of exceptional intellectual attainments. The testimony of the Lyrist type of his coins to his musical abilities finds corroboration in the words[3] of the inscription. His magnanimity and generosity to his defeated opponents are repeatedly emphasized, and we even learn that he composed poems which were fit to rank with the works of professional poets.

§ 34. We possess no dated documents[4] for the reign of Samudragupta, but it is possible to date its limits with some degree of accuracy. If we allow a reign of twenty-five years to Candragupta I from the death of his father, the date of the accession of Samudragupta may be placed in A. D. 335. As mentioned above

[1] l. 7, *suvarṇadāne.*

[2] *Nyāyāgatānekagohiraṇyakoṭipradasya.*

[3] *Gāndharvvalalitaiḥ*, &c. (Allahabad, l. 27).

[4] The forged Gayā grant (Fleet, no. 60) professes to be dated in the year 9 (328/329), but it cannot be assumed that the forger knew this date to be correct; besides there is great uncertainty about the correct reading of the numeral.

Sylvain Lévi has shown from Chinese sources that Samudragupta was a contemporary of Meghavarṇa of Ceylon. Vincent Smith, adopting Wijesinha's chronology, according to which Meghavarṇa died in A.D. 332, places the accession of Samudragupta in A.D. 326,[1] which would give him a reign of half a century. Fleet[2] has since shown that the true date of Meghavarṇa is A.D. 351–79, which allows us to take the more natural date of A.D. 335 as the date of Samudragupta's accession; it might be assumed from the language of the Allahabad inscription, which implies that the embassy came after his conquests, that the embassy from Ceylon could not have been so early as A.D. 330, and Fleet's chronology allows us to place it much later in Samudragupta's reign. We must in any case allow Samudragupta a reign of considerable length, and he most probably lived till A.D. 380 or A.D. 385. The name of his queen, the mother of his successor Candragupta II, was Dattadevī.

§ 35. The attribution of the coins bearing the name Kāca to Samudragupta is no longer doubted[3]; to the arguments adduced by Fleet[4] and Vincent Smith[5] may be added the fact that the legend on the Kāca type is almost synonymous with that on the Archer type; the *karmabhir uttamair* of the Kāca type is equivalent to the *sucaritair* of the Archer type, and both are an allusion to the sacrifices and pious works of Samudragupta. Kāca occurs elsewhere[6] as the name of a ruling king; Fleet (*loc. cit.*) has suggested that it may be a less formal name of Samudragupta; it must be a name or title of equal importance to such titles as Sarvarājocchettā, Kṛtāntaparaśu, Apratiratha, &c., and is certainly one by which he was quite well known or it would not appear

[1] *I.A.*, 1902, p. 258; *E.H.I.*[2], pp. 272, 308. One serious objection to this date is that Samudragupta could only have been about sixteen years old at this time if we adopt Vincent Smith's date of 308 for the marriage of Candragupta I.

[2] *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, p. 342.

[3] Vincent Smith, *I.A.*, 1902, pp. 259–60.

[4] *C.I.I.*, iii, p. 27.

[5] *I.A.*, *loc. cit.*

[6] At Ajaṇṭā, *A.S.W.I.*, iv, p. 129.

on his coins. It may be that Kāca was the original name of the emperor and that he took the name Samudragupta in allusion to his conquests,[1] and, by taking a name formed on the analogy of his father's, instituted the custom of taking names ending in *gupta* followed by his successors.

§ 36. If Hoernle's attribution of the Farīdpur inscription[2] of the Mahārājādhirāja Śrī-Dharmāditya to the reign of Samudragupta could be accepted, Dharmāditya would be another name of Samudragupta analogous to the Vikramāditya of his successor. Although a very appropriate title for him to have assumed,[3] and although the identification seems to be strengthened by the use of the epithet *apratiratha*, there is no real basis for the identification, and the type (*abhiṣeka* of Lakṣmī) of the seal points to another dynasty and probably a later date; the *āditya* title of Samudragupta would by the analogy of other reigns, moreover, be Parākramāditya, but there is no evidence that he had such a title.

The earliest Gupta coins must be attributed to the reign of Samudragupta (see §§ 70 ff.). His commonest type is the Standard type, and it is also the earliest as it most closely resembles the late Kushan coins of the Eastern Panjab. It is significant that only the eastern Kushan issues with APΔOXÞO reverse were imitated by the Guptas, and that no trace of the influence of the western coinages with OHÞO reverse is to be found on their coins. This probably shows that Samudragupta's conquest did not extend beyond the Panjab.

3. Candragupta II Vikramāditya.

§ 37. Samudragupta was succeeded by his son Candragupta II Vikramāditya, who seems to have been chosen out of his many

[1] Cf. the *caturudadhisalilāsrāditayaśas*[*aḥ*] of the inscriptions.

[2] *I.A.*, xxi, pp. 43-4; but see now *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, p. 136, note 1, where he would prefer to attribute the inscription to Yaśodharman.

[3] Cf. the *Dharmmapracīrabandhaḥ* of the Allahabad inscription, l. 15, and the *śāstratattvārtthabharttuḥ* of l. 5.

sons as the best fitted to succeed him.[1] For his reign we possess a number of dated inscriptions, so that its limits may be defined with more accuracy than those of his predecessors. His accession may be placed in A. D. 380, and he died in A. D. 413 or 414.

The first of these is the Udayagiri cave inscription[2] of the year 82 = A. D. 401–2, on the eleventh lunar day of the bright fortnight of *Āṣāḍha* (June–July), recording a dedication by a mahārāja of the Sanakānika family; the last component *-ḍhala* of his name alone is legible, but he is described as the son of Mahārāja Viṣṇudāsa and the grandson of the Mahārāja Chagalaga; he describes himself as *Śrī-Candragupta-pādānudhyāta*, so that he must have been a feudatory of Candragupta II, as his father or grandfather had been to Samudragupta.[3]

Even the name of Candragupta has disappeared from the fragments of his Mathurā inscription[4] that survive, but that it belonged to his reign is clear from the reference *[Sa]mudraguptasya putreṇa.*

§ 38. The Sānchi inscription[5] is dated in the year 93 = 412–13 on the fourth day of the month Bhādrapada (Aug.–Sept.). It records a grant by Amrakārdava (or Āmrakārdava), son of Undāna, of a village or allotment of land called Īśvaravāsaka, and the sum of 25 dīnāras to the Ārya-saṁgha of the great vihāra of Kākanāboṭa for the purpose of feeding bhikṣus and maintaining lamps. The donor was an officer, possibly—as suggested by Fleet, p. 32, note 1—a minister of Candragupta. It may be assumed from the expression 'Anekasamarāvāptavijayayaśaspatākaḥ' applied to him that he was a person of considerable importance and high military rank. His donation appears to have been made out of gratitude for favours received from Candragupta II.

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[1] Eran inscr., l. 19; Bihār inscr. of Skandagupta, l. 19.

[2] Fleet, *C.I.I.*, iii, no. 3.

[3] Cf. Allahabad inscription, l. 22, where the Sanakānīkas are said to have paid tribute to Samudragupta.

[4] Fleet, *C.I.I.*, no. 4.

[5] *Ibid.*, no. 5.

§ 39. The undated Udayagiri inscription, no. 6 in Fleet's *Corpus*, records the excavation of a cave in honour of Śambhu (Śiva) by Vīrasena, also called Śāba, a hereditary minister of Candragupta holding the office of Minister of Peace and War (i. e. of Foreign Affairs). It mentions the fact that Candragupta 'seeking to conquer the world' visited Udayagiri with the donor, who is described as belonging to Pāṭaliputra. This may be evidence that the Gupta capital was still Pāṭaliputra; in l. 2 there is a reference to the prowess (*vikrama*) of Candragupta. The inscription may have been inscribed when Candragupta was on the campaign of conquest which ended in the overthrow of the Western Kṣatrapas.

The Gaḍhwā inscription is dated in the year 88 = 407/8. Candragupta's name does not appear in the fragment that has survived, but that it was mentioned may be deduced from the title *paramabhāgavatamahār (ājādhirāja)* in l. 10. The inscription records a gift of 10 dīnāras for some pious purpose.

§ 40. The Meharaulī inscription[1] commemorates the conquests of a king named Candra, who has been identified by Vincent Smith and others with Candragupta II. If the inscription refers to Candragupta II, we learn from it that his western conquests extended across the Indus; the enemies who had united against him in the Vaṅga country were probably peoples who had taken the opportunity of his absence in the west to cast off the yoke under which his father had laid them. The Vāhlikas, whom he defeated across the 'seven mouths' of the Indus, are mentioned several times in the Bṛhatsaṁhita with northern peoples and are generally identified as the people of Balkh; the etymology of Vāhlika, from the Pehlevi form (Bākẖl or Bahl) of the name Balkh, seems a very probable one, but the inscription cannot mean that Candra's arms penetrated to Balkh, the route to which would not be across the mouth of the Indus; it is probable that the name Vāhlika had acquired a more general significance and was used like Pahlava, Yavana, &c., of a body of foreign invaders of India.

[1] Fleet, *C.I.I.*, iii, no. 32.

§ 41. The inscription presents several remarkable features; it is posthumous; the phraseology is quite unlike that of any Gupta inscription, and no genealogy is given. It is even possible, as suggested by Fleet in an alternative translation in note 2, p. 142, that the king's name was not Candra and that his name is concealed in a poetical allusion in the words 'candrāhvena samagra-candra-sa-dṛśīm', &c. (l. 6); it seems clear, however, that *dhāvena* is a slip for *bhāvena*, the *dh* is not quite like the other *dh*'s in the inscription, but is quite like the *bh*'s, with the addition of the bottom stroke from left to right, caused by an engraver's slip. There is no question then of a king named Dhāva. The epithet 'having in faith fixed his mind on the god Viṣṇu' recalls the *paramabhāgavata* so favoured by Candragupta II, but this latter phrase is so stereotyped an epithet of his that the fact that it is not used here is rather an argument against identifying Candra with Candragupta II. The statement that he attained supreme sovereignty in the world by his own arm and enjoyed it for a long time is certainly more applicable to Candragupta II than Candragupta I,[1] to whom it has been proposed to ascribe the inscription, and is particularly applicable to Samudragupta. The statement that 'the breezes of his prowess still perfume the southern ocean' recalls Samudragupta rather than Candragupta, and it may be significant that *vīrya* and not *vikrama* is used for prowess here. There is no analogy for the abbreviation *Candra* for Candragupta in inscriptions; its occurrence in the field of the coins is hardly a parallel, as this is probably due to lack of space, and it never occurs in the marginal legends; the 'Vikrama' for Vikramāditya suggested by Vincent Smith is not a proper parallel.

§ 42. The identification which is accepted by Hoernle[2] and Vincent Smith[3] is based on epigraphical grounds and on the

[1] Fleet, *C.I.I.*, p. 110, note 1.
[2] *I.A.*, xxi, pp. 43–4.
[3] *E.H.I.*[2], p. 275.

difficulty of finding any one other than Candragupta II to whom the inscription could belong in the beginning of the fifth century, to which Hoernle would assign the inscription. The fact that the inscription is engraved on iron, however, makes it difficult to dogmatize on its date, and we must decline to accept the identification. Not only is there no real ground for identifying Candra with Candragupta II, but it is improbable that the inscription belongs to the dynasty at all; when the true explanation is discovered it will probably be found that Fleet is right in emphasizing the early character of its epigraphy.[1]

§ 43. The most important event of the reign of Candragupta II was his conquest of the Western Kṣatrapas, which added Surāṣṭra and Mālwa to his dominions. The exact date of this event has not been definitely ascertained, but it can be located within fairly narrow limits. It is probable that the influence of Samudragupta's conquests was felt by the Western Kṣatrapas, if the Śakas of the Allahabad inscription include the Western Kṣatrapas.[2]

The two Udayagiri inscriptions, one of which is dated in 401, are evidence of the Gupta occupation of Eastern Mālwa. The other commemorates the excavation of a cave by a minister of Candragupta II, who came hither with his royal master who was 'seeking to conquer the whole world'. It is unfortunately undated, or we might have had a clue to the date at which Candragupta passed here on his campaign against the Kṣatrapas. The numismatic evidence, however, throws some light on the subject. The latest dated coins of the Western Kṣatrapas are of the year 310 or 31 *x*= A.D. 388 or 388–97.[3] On his conquest of Surāṣṭra Candragupta II issued silver coins closely copied from those of the Kṣatrapas. On the obverse these bear the king's head with traces of Greek inscription still surviving with date behind. On the reverse they substitute the Garuḍa bird for the *Caitya*, &c. The earliest date on

[1] *C.I.I.*, iii, p. 140 and note 1.
[2] See above, p. xxviii.
[3] Rapson, *C.A. & W.K.*, pp. cxlix, cli, 192–4.

these coins is 90 or $90x$ = A.D. 409 or 409–13 (since Candragupta II died about 413). We know, however, from the Udayagiri inscription of 82 = A.D. 401 that Eastern Mālwa must by this time have been included in the Gupta dominions, and although this is not evidence for the conquest of Gujarat and Kathiawar it is highly probable that they were conquered on the same campaign. Vincent Smith assumes 395[1] as a mean date for the completion of the conquest, which is near enough for practical purposes. An echo of this campaign is to be found in the *Harṣacarita*[2]—almost the only reference to the Guptas in literature—according to which Candragupta slew the king of the Śakas 'while courting another man's wife in his enemy's town'.[3]

§ 44. In the *Travels*[4] of the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hien, who visited India from A.D. 405–11, we have an account of the empire of the Guptas in the reign of Candragupta II. Unfortunately the pious monk was so absorbed in his studies that he does not even mention the name of the king then ruling: beyond showing that the country appeared to be prosperous and well governed his narrative is of little historical value. It must be doubted that Buddhism held the predominant position he would lead us to believe. The evidence of the coins and inscriptions shows that the rulers were Hindus, and Buddhism must by this period have long passed its zenith. Fa-Hien probably passed most of his time in study in the various monasteries he visited and saw but little of the everyday life of the people.

It is of importance to note that Pāṭaliputra in his time was still one of the most flourishing towns in the empire and that Magadha was one of the most prosperous districts in the Middle Kingdom, although Gayā and the other holy places of Buddhism were now

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[1] *E.H.I.*[2], p. 276.

[2] Transl., p. 194.

[3] It may be to this campaign that the tradition that Vikramāditya slew Śaka refers.

[4] Transl. by Legge (Oxford, 1886).

desolate and invaded by jungle. His statement that cowrie shells were the only articles used in buying and selling is of numismatic interest. This probably refers to such small transactions as the pilgrim had occasion to make. He does not seem to have met with the gold coins which would only be required for large transactions. That they were actually in currency we know from the references to donations of 'dīnāras' and 'suvarṇas' in the inscriptions.

§ 45. Bloch's excavations at Basarh[1] (Vaiśālī) revealed a large number of clay seals belonging to the reign of Candragupta II. Of these the most important was the seal of the 'Mahādevī-Śrī-Dhruvasvāminī, wife of the Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Candragupta, mother of the Mahārāja Śrī Govindagupta'; among the others was a seal of Śrī Ghaṭotkacagupta. The latter has been discussed above (pp. xvi–xvii), where it has been shown that it cannot be a seal of Ghaṭotkaca, father of Candragupta I, but must be that of some member of the family of Candragupta II.

§ 46. Govindagupta cannot have been Kumāragupta I, but must have been a younger brother; the title *mahārāja* probably means no more than prince. He was governor of Vaiśālī, and the seals are those of various officials of his court and of prominent citizens and communities in his province. It is rather difficult to account for this collocation of seals. Dr. Bloch suggested that they were originally attached to documents which have disappeared. Prof. Bhandarkar's suggestion, however, seems to us the more probable one, that the site where they were discovered was the workshop of the potter or other person entrusted with the task of making seals, and that these are trial impressions. Among the officials are the Kumārāmātyādhikaraṇa, chief of the prince's ministers, who is also given the title Yuvarāja, which cannot therefore have been peculiar to the heir-apparent; on another seal he is called the Yuvarāja and Bhaṭṭāraka, chief of

[1] *A.S.R.*, 1903–4, pp. 101–20.

the prince's ministers; the Balādhikaraṇa, the chief of military forces, also bears the title Yuvarāja and Bhaṭṭāraka. Other important officials were the Raṇabhāṇḍāgārādhikaraṇa, chief of the treasury of the war office; the Daṇḍapāśādhikaraṇa, the chief of police (perhaps a military officer); Vinayaśūra, the great chamberlain (*Mahāpratihāra*) and Taravara: the Judge (*Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*) Agnigupta; the chief of the uparikas of Tīrabhukti; the chief of the prince's ministers at Tīra; the chief of the government of Vaiśālī. Tīra and Tīrabhukti, or the 'district of Tīra', which are also mentioned, evidently were governed by a similar staff of officials to Vaiśālī. Udanakūpa seems to be another locality governed by a pariṣad or panchayat. The great majority of the seals refer to the guild of bankers (*śreṣṭhin*), traders (*sārthavāha*), and merchants (*kulika*), and are usually found in combination with seals of private individuals.[1]

§ 47. The coins of Candragupta II display considerable originality of type. In his reign the throned goddess is replaced by the purely Indian type of a goddess seated on a lotus. The Couch type and the Umbrella type are original. He also introduced the Horseman type which became so popular with his successor. Samudragupta had represented himself in combat with a tiger, and Candragupta developed this idea in four distinct types in which he is represented slaying a lion, with legends descriptive of his prowess and strength. His reign is chiefly remarkable for the introduction of a currency in silver and copper, the former of which was considerably extended by his successors Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta.

4. Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya.

§ 48. It is impossible to give anything like a connected account of the reign of Candragupta's son and successor Kumāragupta I. He came to the throne in A. D. 413 or 414. The Gaḍhwā[2] inscrip-

[1] Cf. Vogel's account of the state officials of Chambā in *Antiquities of Chambā State*, vol. i, pp. 120–36 (Calcutta, 1911).

[2] Fleet, *C.I.I.*, iii, no. 8.

tion, commemorating the gift of a sum of money for religious purposes, is dated in his reign, but the date is no longer legible. The Bilsad inscription[1] of the year 96 (A. D. 415–16) commemorates the building of a *pratolī* (gateway), the establishment of a *sattra* (rest-house), and the erection of a column bearing an inscription recording these gifts at a temple of the god Svāmi-Mahāsena (Kārttikeya) by a pious donor named Dhruvaśarman. It describes the monarch's reign as 'a reign of increasing victory'. The Gaḍhwā[2] inscription of the year 98 records the gift of twelve dīnāras, apparently to a *sattra*. The Udayagiri[3] inscription of the year 106 (425–6) does not mention Kumāragupta, but is dated in the reign 'of the family of Guptas, the best of kings'. Though in it he is only given the title of *Mahārāja*, the Mankuwār[4] inscription of the year 129 must refer to Kumāragupta; it is Buddhist and records the installation of an image of Buddha by a Buddhist *bhikṣu* named Buddhamitra, whom K. P. Pathak has proposed to identify with Buddhamitra, the teacher of Vasubandhu.[5]

§ 49. A lingam found at Karamaḍāṇḍe in the Fyzabad district in 1908, now in the Lucknow Museum, bears an inscription dated G. E. 117 = A. D. 436; it mentions a Pṛthivīṣena, who was a *mantrī* and *kumārāmātya*, and afterwards *mahābalādhikṛta* (general) under Kumāragupta I. His father, Śikharasvāmin, is said to have been *mantrī* and *kumārāmātya* under Candragupta II. Such offices were evidently hereditary; for example, in the Udayagiri inscription[6] of Candragupta II, Vīrasena distinctly states that he had acquired his office of Minister of Foreign Affairs by hereditary descent (*anvayaprāptasāciviya*).

The long Mandasor[7] inscription of Kumāragupta I and Bandhuvarman unfortunately contains little information of historical value. It records the building of a temple of the sun in Daśapura (Mandasor) by a guild of silk weavers in the Mālava year 493

[1] Fleet, *C.I.I.*, iii, no. 10.
[2] *Ibid.*, no. 9.
[3] *Ibid.*, no. 61.
[4] *Ibid.*, no. 11.
[5] *I.A.*, 1912, p. 244.
[6] Fleet, *C.I.I.*, iii, no. 6.
[7] *Ibid.*, no. 18.

(437–8), and its restoration by them in 530 (473–4), when Kumāragupta 'was reigning over the whole earth', and Bandhuvarman, son of Viśvavarman, was governor of Daśapura.

§ 50. His extensive coinage, the distribution of his inscriptions, and of the find-spots of his silver coinages show that he was able to retain his father's empire comparatively intact, including Candragupta II's western conquests. The very rare Aśvamedha type of his gold coinage (**Pl. XII. 13, 14**) is our sole evidence of his celebration of the horse-sacrifice.

It may safely be deduced from Skandagupta's Bhitarī inscription that Kumāragupta's latter years were much troubled, and that when he died his empire was threatened with disaster, which it took all the skill and experience of his son to avert. The date of his death may be fixed with considerable certainty in A.D. 455.[1] The name of his queen, the mother of Puragupta, was Anantadevī[2]; whether she was the mother of Skandagupta also is not known.

Mahendra and *Mahendrāditya* are favourite titles of Kumāragupta,[3] corresponding to the *Vikrama* and *Vikramāditya* of his father. From the reverse legend of his Aśvamedha type it would appear that he assumed the title *Mahendra* after performing the horse-sacrifice. His coins are numerous and of varied types. The Horseman, of which six varieties may be distinguished, is the commonest at the present day; numerous varieties of his Lion-slayer and Archer types may also be distinguished. Among his new types are the Peacock (issued in honour of his patron deity, Kārttikeya), the Swordsman, the Elephant-rider, and the 'Pratāpa'. In his reign the silver coinage was considerably extended and introduced to his central dominions, where the Garuḍa of the reverse was replaced by a peacock, the sacred bird of Kārttikeya (Kumāra).

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[1] Vincent Smith, *I.A.*, 1902, p. 262; *E.H.I.*², p. 308.

[2] Bhitarī seal as read by Hoernle, *J.A.S.B.*, 1889, p. 89, and Fleet, *I.A.*, 1890, pp. 226, 227.

[3] An allusion to Kumāragupta may have survived in a couplet preserved as an example of *sābhiprāyatvam* by Vāmana in his *Kāryālaṅkārasūtravṛtti*,

5. Skandagupta Kramāditya.

§ 51. From the evidence of coins and inscriptions[1] we know that Skandagupta, the son and successor[2] of Kumāragupta I, must have come to the throne about G. E. 136 = A. D. 455. Our most important document for the history of his reign is the Bhitarī inscription,[3] the object of which is to record the installation of an image of Śārṅgin [Viṣṇu], and the allotment to it of a village by Skandagupta in memory of his father Kumāragupta I and to increase his merit.[4] The importance of the inscription lies in its historical references. It seems clear from it that Kumāragupta's last years had been much troubled, and that the fortunes of the dynasty had sunk to a low level. There are three distinct allusions in it to the restoration of the family fortunes by Skandagupta: from l. 10 we learn that while preparing 'to restore the fallen fortunes of his family' he was reduced to such straits that he had to 'spend a night sleeping on the bare earth'; l. 12, that 'when his father had attained the skies, he conquered his enemies by the strength of his arm, and established again the ruined fortunes of his lineage': l. 14, 'with his own armies he established his lineage that had been made to totter'. The nature of the catastrophe that threatened the Gupta empire can only be surmised from this inscription.

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to which attention was first called by M. Haraprasād in *J.A.S.B.*, 1905, pp. 253 ff.

So'yam samprati Candraguptatanayaś candraprakāśo
Jāto bhūpatir aśrayaḥ kṛtadhiyām diṣṭyā kṛtārthaśramaḥ.

Haraprasād (*loc. cit.*) and Hoernle (*I.A.*, 1911, p. 264), regard Candraprakāśa as a proper name, and the latter suggests it was the pre-accession name of Kumāragupta I. We prefer with K. P. Pathak (*I.A.*, 1911, p. 170) to translate it as an epithet of *tanaya*, 'having the splendour of the moon', with which may be compared the *Guptakulāmalacandra* and *-vyomaśaśī* of the coins. Whether the allusion *aśrayaḥ kṛtadhiyām* is to Vasubandhu or (*ca*)Subandhu is much disputed; we should prefer the former reading, as Subandhu must be considerably later in date than Kumāragupta I or Vasubandhu. In any case it is the verse itself that is of importance and not Vāmana's commentary, on which little reliance can be placed (see also p. lv).

[1] Vincent Smith, *I.A.*, 1902, p. 266.

[2] Bhitarī inscription, ll. 6–8, 18.

[3] Fleet, *C.I.I.*, iii, no. 13.

[4] *Puṇyābhirṛddhaye*, l. 18.

From the statement (l. 10) that he conquered the Puṣyamitras, who had developed great power and wealth, and placed his left foot on their king as a footstool, and the reference (l. 9) to enemies who had put themselves forward in a desire for conquest, it would seem that the Puṣyamitras were a growing power who had been longing for the day when they would feel strong enough to match themselves against the Guptas. Unfortunately no clue is given to the identity of the Puṣyamitras.[1] They may be identical with the Puṣpamitras of the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*,[2] in which case they are perhaps to be located, as Fleet[3] suggests, on the Narmadā: unfortunately the text of the Purāṇa is so corrupt that it is not at all certain that it means that the Puṣyamitras are to rule over Mekalā.[4] Vincent Smith[5] would place the Puṣyamitras of the inscription in the north, but there seems no real authority for this unless it be their mention in the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* after the Kailakila Yavanas and Bāhlīkas. The language of the inscription seems to imply a tributary state that had been waiting to cast off the Gupta yoke.[6]

If ll. 12–14 refer to the same campaign, it would appear that it was about the end of Kumāragupta's reign that the Gupta power was 'made to totter' by this enemy, and that Skandagupta was sent against them as he was a man of great experience and skilled in military strategy (ll. 8–9). Kumāragupta seems to have died (l. 12) before the success of his son's arms had been assured and the ruined fortunes of the family re-established; it was therefore to his mother (l. 13) that the victorious prince returned to announce his victory, 'just as Kṛṣṇa, when he had slain his enemies, betook himself to (his mother) Devakī'. This seems the most satisfactory way of accounting for the express mention of

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[1] This and not Puṣpamitra is the correct form; cf. Fleet, *C.I.I.*, iii. p. 55, note 2.

[2] Transl. Wilson, iv, p. 213.

[3] *I.A.*, 1889, p. 226.

[4] Transl. Wilson, iv, p. 215.

[5] *E.H.I.*[2], p. 289, note 1.

[6] l. 9, *svabhimata-vijigīṣā-prodyatānām*; ll. 10–11, *samuditabalakoshān Puṣyamitrān.*

the fact that he hastened with the news of his victory to his mother. In l. 15 there is a reference to a terrible conflict with the Hūṇas, in which Skandagupta was presumably victorious; this victory is probably different from the preceding one over the Puṣyamitras, and there is no reason to suppose that these were his only opponents. Like Samudragupta, he showed mercy to the peoples he conquered (l. 14).

§ 52. The inscription is unfortunately undated, but it must have been erected early in the reign, as Skandagupta would presumably lose no time in erecting a memorial to his father. It is thus possible to date the earliest recorded invasion of India by the Huns about A. D. 455, not later than A. D. 458, if we identify them with the Mlecchas of the Jūnāgaḍh inscription. Hoernle[1] would date the Bhitarī inscription not earlier than A. D. 465 on the ground that the Huns did not occupy Gandhāra till about A. D. 465, but the latter date is not absolutely fixed, nor is there any reason to suppose that it marks the first step in the Hūṇa advance on India; he would also identify the Puṣyamitras with the Maitraka tribe to which Bhaṭārka,[2] the founder of the Valabhī dynasty, belonged, and with the Mlecchas of the Jūnāgaḍh inscription, but no evidence can be brought forward to prove the identity of the former with the latter two; the Maitrakas are most probably a Hūṇa tribe,[3] and might even be identified with the Mlecchas of the Jūnāgaḍh inscription; the latter at least can only be Hūṇas, which proves the early date of the Hūṇa invasion.

§ 53. The object of the Jūnāgaḍh inscription is to record the restoration in G. E. 138 = A. D. 457–8 of the embankment forming the lake Sudarśana, which had burst two years previously. The work was done by orders of Cakrapālita, governor of the city at which the inscription is, who had been appointed to his office by his father Parṇadatta, who had received his post as governor

[1] *J.R.A.S*, 1909, pp. 126–8.

[2] Adopting Hultsch's reading, *Ep. Ind.*, iii, pp. 319–20.

[3] Fleet, *I.A.*, xviii, p. 228.

of 'the land of the Surāṣṭras' from Skandagupta himself. The opening lines of the inscription form the part of historical importance as they are a panegyric of Skandagupta. We are again told that when his father had attained the friendship of the gods, i. e. had died, he overthrew his enemies and made the whole earth subject to himself, and that his fame is proclaimed in the country of the Mlecchas even by his enemies, whose pride has been broken. It is again clear from the language of this inscription that Skandagupta completely routed the enemies who had threatened to bring his dynasty to an end. The two references to his conquering the whole earth (ll. 3 and 6), and the reference to his appointing protectors in all the countries probably mean that he regained considerable portions of Gupta territory that had slipped from his father's power rather than that he made any considerable new additions to it. If we may lay any stress on l. 9, it would seem that the danger that threatened his lands was a very serious one, as 'he deliberated for days and nights before making up his mind who could be trusted with the important task of guarding the lands of the Surāṣṭras'. It may be deduced from this and from the *sarveṣu deśeṣu vidhāya goptṛīn* of l. 6 that he was at particular pains to appoint a series of wardens of the marches to protect his lands from future invasion. The language of his inscriptions shows that his exploits were considered quite as great as those of Samudragupta, and indeed the composer of the Bhitarī inscription describes him as the most eminent hero of the Gupta race, but this may have no more significance than the *Guptakulāmalacandra* of Kumāragupta I's coins. Skandagupta considered himself the special favourite of the goddess of fortune,[1] and one of his coin-types seems to allude to this.

§ 54. The Kahaum[2] inscription commemorates the erection of a pillar and five Jain images by Madra, apparently a private individual 'full of affection for Brāhmaṇs, religious teachers, and

[1] Bhitarī inscription, ll. 2 and 5.

[2] Fleet, *C.I.I.*, iii, no. 15.

ascetics' in the village of Kukubha in G. E. 141 = A. D. 460-1. It describes Skandagupta's reign as peaceful, and the monarch—who is compared to Indra—as receiving the homage of a hundred kings. It may be that it was the troubled period through which the empire had passed which impressed the donor more than usually with the truth that the world is constantly passing through a succession of changes (l. 9).

The Indore copper plate[1] of G. E. 146 = A. D. 465-6 is a deed by a Brāhman named Devaviṣṇu, endowing a lamp in perpetuity in a temple of the sun in Indrapura (Indore). It gives Skandagupta the title of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja*, and describes his reign as one of increasing victory; Śarvanāga is mentioned as his governor (*viṣayapati*) of the district of Antarvedī. The Mathurā inscription[2] of the year 135 = 454-5 belongs to the end of the reign of Kumāragupta or the beginning of that of Skandagupta, but is of no historical importance. The fragmentary Kosam[3] (Kauśāmbi) inscription of the year 139 contains the name of the Mahārāja Bhīmavarman, who was presumably a feudatory of Skandagupta, and the Gaḍhwā[4] inscription of the year 148=467-8 seems to have contained the name of Skandagupta, and like the Indore plate describes his reign as of increasing victory.

§ 55. We have no further sources for the history of Skandagupta. While his extensive silver coinage shows that he maintained his western dominions, although perhaps for the earlier part of his reign only, his gold coins are few in number in comparison with those of his predecessors. The legends, unfortunately, are not complete, but seem to be similar to the usual boast of conquest, and claim to have acquired merit. His early issues are on the standard of his predecessors, but his later or possibly Eastern issues are on a heavier standard, but this seems to be counterbalanced by a depreciation in the purity of the gold. His *āditya* title was *Kramāditya*, but on some of his silver coins he has also

[1] Fleet, *C.I.I.*, iii, no. 16.
[2] *Ibid.*, no. 63.
[3] *Ibid.*, no. 65.
[4] *Ibid.*, no. 66.

the more famous title *Vikramāditya*,[1] which had been borne by his grandfather. He seems to have died about A. D. 480; according to the usual view he left no heir, and was succeeded by his brother Puragupta, but see now §§ 59–63.

6. Puragupta and Prakāśāditya.

§ 56. It may be regarded as certain that, however successful Skandagupta had been in his earlier efforts to stem the tide of Hūṇa invasion, towards the end of his reign or early in that of his successor the greater part of the western Gupta dominions had passed from the sway of his dynasty. The scarcity of his silver coins with the Garuḍa reverse type in comparison with those of Kumāragupta I of this type is probably evidence that the area in which they circulated did not long remain under his rule, while the absence of silver coins of his successors shows that they did not rule in western India at all; the scarcity of the gold coins and the lack of variety in their types is further evidence of the limited extent of the dominions and decline in power of the dynasty which had once ruled almost all India.

§ 57. It is generally believed that Skandagupta was succeeded by his brother or half-brother Puragupta: the existence of the

[1] Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* can hardly be considered a reliable source for Indian history, but the memory of Skandagupta and his victory over the Huns seems to be preserved in the story of king Vikramāditya in bk. xviii: Mahendrāditya is king of Ujjain at a time when the Mlecchas are overrunning the earth, afflicting even the gods with their oppressions; a son named Vikramāditya (also called Viṣamaśīla) is born to him, who, becoming king on his father's abdication, utterly routs the Mlecchas. As Hoernle (*J.R.A.S.*, 1909, pp. 120–1) suggests that the elaborate and purely conventional *digvijaya*, with which Somadeva provides his hero, may be evidence in favour of his theory of the identity of Yaśodharman and the Vikramāditya of tradition, it is worth noting that the historical kernel of the story exactly agrees with Skandagupta's Bhitarī and Jūnāgaḍh inscriptions; Mahendrāditya is the well-established *āditya* title of Kumāragupta I, and Vikramāditya of Skandagupta, while the Mlecchas are the Hūṇas of the Bhitarī inscription, and the Mlecchas of the Jūnāgaḍh inscription; Skandagupta, moreover, did succeed his father when the Mlecchas were threatening the ruin of the country.

latter was unknown till the discovery of the Bhitarī seal of Kumāragupta II in 1889, and its publication by Smith and Hoernle.[1] This seal describes the 'mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Puragupta' as the son of Kumāragupta I by the Mahādevī Anantadevī, and does not mention Skandagupta, whose inscriptions describe him as the son and—as is clear from his Bhitarī inscription—the successor of Kumāragupta I. The genealogy is continued two generations further through Puragupta's son Narasiṁhagupta by his queen Vatsadevī to Kumāragupta II, the son of Narasiṁhagupta and Mahālakṣmīdevī. The question thus arises, what is the relationship of Skandagupta to Puragupta? Hoernle,[2] to whom the restoration of Puragupta to his place in history is due, suggested that they were half-brothers, as does Vincent Smith.[3]

We may here mention a further complication: Paramārtha, in his life of Vasubandhu, relates that king Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā became a patron of Buddhism through the influence of Vasubandhu, and sent his queen and the crown prince Bālāditya to study under him. When Bālāditya came to the throne he invited Vasubandhu to Ayodhyā.[4] The natural interpretation of Paramārtha's statement is, as Hoernle[5] points out, that Vikramāditya was a name of Puragupta, who is known to have been the father of Narasiṁhagupta, from whose coins we learn that he was called Bālāditya. Hoernle's next step in order to reconcile these statements is to propose the identity of Skandagupta, whom we

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[1] *J.A.S.B.*, 1889, pp. 84–105.

[2] *J.A.S.B.*, 1889, pp. 92 ff., and *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 128.

[3] *E.H.I.*[2], p. 293.

[4] Attention was first called to this statement by J. Takakusu in *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 49; he identifies Vikramāditya with Skandagupta, who bears this title on some of his coins, and is followed by Vincent Smith (*E.H.I.*[2], p. 292), assuming that Paramārtha confused the 'nephew' and 'son' of Vikramāditya. D. R. Bhandarkar (*I.A.*, 1912, p. 21) identifies Vikramāditya with Candragupta II. and Bālāditya with the Govindagupta of the Basarh seal, but this view, which is apparently suggested by Vāmana's statement that Vasubandhu was a friend or minister of the son of Candragupta (see p. xliii, note 3), is quite untenable.

[5] *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, p. 102.

know to have been called Vikramāditya, with Puragupta, and to suggest that he took this name later in his reign (the 'town-protected' in allusion to the resistance of his fortresses to the Huns). We can now produce evidence that Puragupta was called Vikramāditya, so that there is no reason to suppose Puragupta identical with Skandagupta. The coins here attributed to Puragupta, one of which bears his name, have the reverse legend *Śrī-Vikramaḥ*, and it may fairly be assumed from this that his *āditya* title was Vikramāditya, as Paramārtha's story suggests.[1] The question whether Puragupta was the full or the half-brother of Skandagupta is one that cannot be definitely settled. There seems no more reason to assume that he was a half-brother than to suppose that he was his brother.

§ 58. The gold coins which bear on the reverse the title Prakāśāditya were attributed by Hoernle[2] to Puragupta, and he is followed by Vincent Smith.[3] The attribution was originally a purely conjectural one, based on the fact that no coins were known of Puragupta, and that these coins could be attributed to no known Gupta. There is one argument, however, that can be brought forward in support of it; the Bharsar[4] hoard contained coins of Samudragupta, Candragupta II, Kumāragupta I, Skandagupta, and Prakāśāditya; the natural deduction would be that Prakāśāditya succeeded Skandagupta, and that the hoard was buried in his reign. Unfortunately, however, only two-thirds of the hoard was recovered for examination, so that it is hardly safe to say that it did not contain coins of Puragupta, while from their scarcity and the presumed briefness of his reign the hoard may never have contained them, although buried after his time. The

[1] Cf. the *Śrī-Vikramaḥ* of Candragupta II's Archer type with the *Vikramādityaḥ* of his Chattra type.

[2] *J.A.S.B.*, 1889, pp. 93–4. He would now (*J.R.A.S.*, 1905. p. 135) attribute them to Yaśodharman.

[3] *I.A.*, 1902, p. 263; *E.H.I.*[2], p. 293; *I. M. Cat.*, i, p. 119.

[4] *J.A.S.B.*, 1852, pp. 390–400.

style of these coins, although late and degraded in comparison with those of Kumāragupta I, compares favourably with that of Narasiṁhagupta's coins, and hardly permits them to be placed much later than the period suggested by the Bharsar hoard: the fineness of the gold of all the specimens likewise suggests a date previous to the coins of Narasiṁhagupta and his successors, of which only a small percentage in each reign are of fine metal; the purity of metal may, however, only be evidence that the Prakāśāditya coins belong to a different region from the debased coinages of these later rulers. It is highly improbable that Puragupta was called both Vikramāditya and Prakāśāditya, so that we must attribute these coins to some king, probably a Gupta, whose name is not yet known, and who must be placed about the end of the fifth century A. D.

Hoernle's[1] attribution of these coins to Yaśodharman has no real foundation. The legend, the correct reading of which is *vijitya vasudhāṁ divaṁ jayati*, is the remainder of one of the usual Gupta lines, which had now become quite stereotyped. This formula had long lost any literal significance, and it is impossible to say that it does not apply to Puragupta, for example, because he could not have conquered the earth, or to argue that Yaśodharman is the only person to whom it could apply. As to the character *u* in the field, it is quite as probably *ru*, and even if it is *u* we have no evidence that it signifies a mint. indeed, we should be no nearer the attribution to Yaśodharman if we were certain it were Ujjain; nor have we any evidence that Yaśodharman ever was known as Prakāśāditya.

§ 59. There is one suggestion that may be made regarding the identity of Prakāśāditya which is quite in keeping with the numismatic evidence, namely, that he was the son or a descendant of Skandagupta. The general view that Skandagupta was succeeded by his brother Puragupta is based on the absence of any later inscriptions or other documents continuing the genealogy of

[1] *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, pp. 135-6.

the Guptas through Skandagupta as the Bhitarī seal does through Puragupta. Before the discovery of this seal we had no clue to the exact identity or order of Narasiṁhagupta and Kumāragupta II, whose coins had long been known, although the latter had not been recognized as such. We are now able to produce a certain amount of numismatic evidence of the existence of another Gupta line parallel to that whose genealogy is established by the Bhitarī seal.

§ 60. Among the Archer coins hitherto attributed to Candragupta II there is a certain class[1] which cannot be attributed to him. These coins are all of the heavy weight of over 144 grains, which did not come into use till the reign of Skandagupta: they have a character (*bhā*) between the king's feet on the obverse, and this practice is not found before the reign of Skandagupta: the obverse legend is uncertain, but it clearly begins *para* and ends in the *āditya* title, and is therefore modelled on that of Skandagupta's heavier coins. The style of the coins also shows that they belong to the period suggested by these details, while the purity of the gold of all known specimens is further evidence that they cannot be very late. They are probably to be dated not later than Narasiṁhagupta. The name beneath the king's arm on the obverse is *Candra*, undoubtedly for ~~Candra~~gupta, while the reverse legend is not *Śrī-Vikramaḥ* or *Śrī-Vikramādityaḥ*,[2] but *Śrī-Dvādaśādityaḥ*. This reading has already been suggested by Rapson,[3] but he hesitates to accept it definitely. There can be no doubt then that, as already suggested by Rapson,[3] these coins do not belong to Candragupta II, but to a later ruler whom we may call ~~Candra~~gupta ~~III~~ Dvādaśāditya. Rapson[3] doubts that

[1] Nos. 588–90, Pl. XXIII. 6–8 of this Catalogue; *I. M. Cat.*, i, pp. 106–7, nos. 30 and 32, presumably also belong to this class unless the reverse legend is absolutely certain; no. 31 is probably one of Candragupta II's coins, like nos. 96–9 of this Catalogue; Vincent Smith's Class II B, *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 82; *I. M. Cat.*, i, pp. 106–7.

[2] Smith, *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 82: *I. M. Cat.*, i, pp. 106–7.

[3] *Num. Chron.*, 1891, p. 57.

the name is really *Candra*. The *ca* is certainly like *va*, but what appears to be vowel marks above it is the usual crescent; on no. 588 it is difficult to say whether the second *akṣara* is *tya* or *ndra*, but it is clearly *ndra* on nos. 589 and 590, and there is no reason to doubt the reading *Candra*.

§ 61. The next coin to be considered here is one in the St. Petersburg collection (**Pl. XXIV. 3**): the obverse bears traces of a marginal legend ending in *(gu)pta(ḥ)*, and beneath the king's arm the name is *Ghaṭo* with a crescent above as usual. *Ghaṭo* naturally suggests Ghaṭotkaca, but since the style and weight of the coin place it about the end of the fifth century, it cannot possibly be of the only known Ghaṭotkaca, father of Candragupta I; we would suggest that the name of the issuer is Ghaṭotkacagupta rather than another Ghaṭotkaca, as the practice of taking names ending in *gupta* must by this time have been universal. Among the seals found at Basarh there was one of *Śrī-Ghaṭotkacagupta*,[1] which has already been discussed above,[2] where we suggested that he was some member of Candragupta II's family. The coin in question cannot be attributed to this Ghaṭotkacagupta, for it is certainly later in date than he could possibly be, but the seal is important evidence for the existence in the family of the name Ghaṭotkacagupta. The reverse legend is not absolutely certain, but seems to be *Kramādityaḥ*.

§ 62. We have, therefore, evidence of the existence of at least three[3] kings, Prakāśāditya, Candragupta III, and Ghaṭotkacagupta, who must be contemporary with those known from the Bhitarī seal; their existence suggests that in Skandagupta's reign his

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[1] *A.S.R.*, 1903-4, p. 107. [2] pp. xvi–xvii.

[3] Perhaps a fourth is to be added, namely, the king who struck the coin in the Indian Museum (*Cat.*, i, p. 120, no. 1), illustrated here on **Pl. XXIV. 4**; until the obverse legend is certain he had best be known as Narendrāditya, from the reverse inscription; the replacement of Garuḍa by Nandi on the standard, however, suggests that he may not be connected with the Guptas.

brother Puragupta revolted, perhaps taking advantage of his brother's absence in the west, and was able to establish a dynasty of his own. Puragupta's line is well known from the Bhitarī seal, so that these three probably represent Skandagupta's line; it may at least be considered certain that towards the end of the fifth century the Gupta line became divided in the inevitable Oriental fashion. The order of Skandagupta's successors can only be determined by the discovery of further genealogical lists.[1]

Further discoveries, then, may prove that Puragupta's accession or usurpation is to be placed some time before the death of Skandagupta, but the date A. D. 485 first suggested by Hoernle,[2] and now generally accepted[3] for his death, cannot be far wrong. The name of his queen is known from the Bhitarī seal, where she is described as the Mahādevī-Śrī-Vatsadevī: her name therefore was Vatsadevī.

7. Narasiṁhagupta and his Successors.

§ 63. From the Bhitarī seal we know that Puragupta was succeeded by his son Narasiṁhagupta, and from the latter's coins we learn that his *āditya* title was Bālāditya. These coins, which bear the name *Nara* in the field, have long been known; Hoernle[4] was the first to show that they are to be attributed to Narasiṁha-

[1] It is tempting, however, to suggest that Candragupta III was the father of Prakāśāditya, and to find an allusion to this in the *Candraguptatanayaś candraprakāśaḥ* of the quotation preserved by Vāmana. This would give more probability to Vāmana's interpretation of the reference, as even Vasubandhu must have been quite a young man when Kumāragupta I died, if we accept Takakusu's date A. D. 420-500 for him; M. Noël Peri, however, has recently discussed the date of Vasubandhu very fully (*Bull. de l'Ec. Franc. de l'Extr. Or.*, 1911, pp. 339-90), and places him in the fourth century A. D.; in this case the allusion is to Samudragupta (cf. l. 5 of the Allahabad inscription); in favour of the latter view it could be urged that later Candraguptas than Candragupta I would more probably be referred to by their *āditya* titles, but we must now give great weight to Paramārtha's statement discussed above (§ 57).

[2] *J.A.S.B.*, 1889, p. 96.

[3] Smith, *E.H.I.*[2], p. 293.

[4] *J.A.S.B.*, 1889, p. 93.

gupta, but it has not been previously noted that the full name is contained in the marginal inscriptions of the better preserved specimens (see nos. 558 and 560 of this Catalogue). According to Hiuen Tsang,[1] Mo-hi-lo-ku-lo (i.e. Mihirakula), whose capital was Śrāvasti, instituted a persecution of the Buddhists, and invaded the territory of Bālāditya, king of Magadha, a 'zealous Buddhist' who had rebelled against the order. Bālāditya ultimately succeeded in taking Mihirakula prisoner, but released him, and he took refuge in Kaśmīr, of which he made himself ruler. It is difficult to know how much truth there is in the Chinese pilgrim's highly embellished story. Hiuen Tsang places the event some centuries before his time, whereas it cannot have been much over a century before. The stories told of Mihirakula's cruelties bear such a striking resemblance to the similar fictions narrated of the lives of Aśoka and Kaniṣka before their conversion, that little reliance can be placed on them. The fact that we have Paramārtha's independent testimony of the interest displayed in Buddhism by Bālāditya (Narasiṁhagupta, see p. l) suggests that there must be some element of truth in the story: we are probably justified in deducing from it that Narasiṁhagupta inflicted a defeat on Mihirakula, the Hūṇa king who had succeeded his father Toramāṇa between A. D. 510 and 515. It hardly justifies the assumption that Narasiṁhagupta delivered India from its barbarian invaders; there is no numismatic or other evidence to show that Bālāditya did anything to restore the glory of the Guptas or regain their lost dominions. We have no inscriptions of Bālāditya, and there is nothing in his coinage to suggest that he was in any way a much greater figure than his successor.

The question of the overthrow of Mihirakula by Bālāditya is complicated by the existence of inscriptions[2] of a king, otherwise unknown, who claims to have done exactly what Hiuen Tsang ascribes to Bālāditya. The first of these is engraved in duplicate

[1] In Beal, *Records*, i, pp. 165-72; Watters, *Yuan Chwang's Travels*, pp. 288-99.

[2] Fleet, *C.I.I.*, iii, nos. 33-5.

on two 'pillars of victory' (*raṇastambha*) at Mandasor to the glory of a king named Yaśodharman who, 'spurning the limits of his own home, enjoyed territories which were not enjoyed even by the lords of the Guptas' and had 'invaded lands which even the Hūṇas had failed to penetrate'; obeisance was paid to him 'by the chieftains from the River Lauhitya to Mount Mahendra and from the mountain of snow (Himālaya), whose table-lands are embraced by the Gaṅgā, to the Western Ocean'; he had never 'bowed his head to any one but the god Sthāṇu' and had 'penetrated into the mountains of snow (Himālaya), depriving them of the pride of being difficult of access'; even king Mihirakula had been compelled to pay homage to him by touching his feet with his forehead.

§ 64. The second inscription is also at Mandasor: it commemorates the construction of a well by a private individual named Dakṣa, brother of the minister of Viṣṇuvardhana in the Mālava year 590= A. D. 533–4. Its interest for us is that it mentions the *janendra* Yaśodharman as victorious. More space is devoted to a king named Viṣṇuvardhana, to whose line the family of the dedicator of the inscription had been for generations attached; he is described as a *narādhipati* who had acquired the titles *rājādhirāja* and *parameśvara* by subjecting the powerful kings of the east and many of those of the north; we are further told that his crest was the *aulikara*. Hoernle[1] maintains that Yaśodharman and Viṣṇuvardhana are one and the same person: he holds that 'the identity is explicitly affirmed by the Sanskrit phrase *sa eva narādhipatiḥ*, "this very same sovereign"', but the exact wording of the passage is *vijayate jagatīṁ punaś ca Śrī-Viṣṇuvardhananarādhipatiḥ sa eva*, which may be more naturally translated 'and further, victorious on earth is the king Śrī-Viṣṇuvardhana also'. The question can only be absolutely decided by future inscriptions, but for the present it seems that the natural explanation of the mention of both kings is that Yaśodharman was the suzerain of Viṣṇuvardhana; no stress

[1] *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, p. 550: 1909, p. 93.

need be laid on the titles *janendra*[1] and *narādhipati*, which are synonyms and mean no more nor less than king. The panegyric of Viṣṇuvardhana contains very little of historical importance, and if he were the Yaśodharman who defeated the Hūṇas his panegyrist would surely have mentioned it; unless the defeat of Mihirakula took place after 534, which is most improbable. With this inscription we may compare the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta I and Bandhuvarman, in which the suzerain Kumāragupta I is simply mentioned as reigning and is given no titles, while considerable space is devoted to glorifying the local rāja Bandhuvarman and his ancestors. We have here an exact parallel for the omission of any details of Yaśodharman's triumph in this inscription, which is only concerned with Viṣṇuvardhana's family.[2]

§ 65. This inscription, then, contributes practically nothing to our knowledge of Yaśodharman, and does not justify Hoernle's ingenious deductions[3] from it. The first (duplicate) inscription explicitly states that Yaśodharman made Mihirakula pay homage to him; as to line 5 of the inscription it is probably not to be interpreted too literally; the limits defined are quite conventional and mean little more than the familiar phrases 'conquered the whole earth', or 'whose fame was tasted by the four oceans'; the language recalls the conventional *digvijayas* of the poets rather than the explicit statements of Samudragupta's Allahabad inscription, for example, while the statement that Yaśodharman ruled lands which had never been held by the Guptas nor the Hūṇas is probably an

[1] We see no reason to translate *janendra* otherwise than as 'lord of people', i. e. king; Fleet's translation 'tribal ruler', i. e. lord of a *jana* or tribe, is of course quite as possible, but until we know that Yaśodharman was a petty king it is unnecessary to strain the natural interpretation as a synonym of such words as *janādhipati, narendra, narādhipati*.

[2] Cf. also the Eraṇ inscription of Budhagupta and Mātṛviṣṇu (Fleet, no. 19), the plates (*I.A.*, vi, p. 143) of Śaśāṅka and Madhvarāja, and indeed any inscription in which a tributary mentions his suzerain.

[3] *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, pp. 93-4; we may note that *prabhu* in l. 9 refers to Viṣṇuvardhana and not to Yaśodharman, who is not mentioned at all in the original of the quotation on p. 93.

exaggeration, even if it means Gupta territory which the Hūṇas had not taken and Hūṇa territory which the Guptas had never held. Even if it refer to Kaśmīr, we doubt if it can be asserted that Kaśmīr never formed part of the Gupta empire, and while it is improbable that the Hūṇas ever penetrated into Bengal, there is no evidence that Yaśodharman did; any expansion of Yaśodharman's territory must have included land that had once owned the sway of the Guptas, but there is no reason to suppose that he actually deprived the contemporary representative of the line of any of his now comparatively small dominions. The discussion of Yaśodharman's inscription requires more space than we can devote to it here, where we are only concerned with his statement that he took Mihirakula prisoner and its bearing on Hiuen Tsang's story.

§ 66. It has been suggested[1] that Yaśodharman and Narasiṁhagupta formed an alliance against the Hūṇas, but it is difficult to find any evidence to support this view, which is contrary to the evidence of both our authorities, Hiuen Tsang and the inscription; the most satisfactory way out of the difficulty would be to say with Fleet[2] that 'Mihirakula was overthrown by Yaśodharman in the west and by Bālāditya in the direction of Magadha', but, while we are inclined to think that this is the clue to the mystery, we have still to reconcile Hiuen Tsang's evidence with that of the inscription. It is hardly possible that Yaśodharman and Narasiṁhagupta on separate occasions each routed, took Mihirakula prisoner, and released him, and we must lay more stress on a contemporary Indian inscription than on the 'late hearsay account of a foreigner'.[3] We suggest then that Narasiṁhagupta (i. e. the Bālāditya of Hiuen Tsang) was simply successful in defending Magadha against Mihirakula's aggressions, and that Mihirakula was afterwards utterly routed and taken prisoner by Yaśodharman. Hiuen Tsang confuses these

[1] Vincent Smith, *E.H.I.*[2], p. 300.
[2] *I.A.*, 1889, p. 228.
[3] Hoernle, *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, p. 96.

two campaigns, and gives the credit of Mihirakula's final rout to Bālāditya; he heard the stories of the final overthrow of Mihirakula by Yaśodharman and of his defeat by Bālāditya, and naturally assumed them to be the same, being eager to note anything redounding to the glory of the protector of Buddhism, the friend of Vasubandhu, whose pious foundation he had so much admired in Nālanda. While Yaśodharman may not have been such a great man as his panegyrist says he was, when there appears to be a discrepancy between contemporary inscriptional evidence and that of a writer a century later with strong Buddhist bias, it is clearly the latter's statement that must be doubted.

There is a tendency to over-estimate the importance of the defeat of Mihirakula and to describe it as breaking the Hūṇa domination in India.[1] It is probable, however, that the Hūṇa power even in Mihirakula's time had already begun to decline and that, as in Europe, it collapsed almost as suddenly as it had risen; the rapid decline of Toramāṇa's empire must have been due to the inability of a barbarian horde to resist contact with an old-established civilization rather than to the efforts of any Indian liberator.

§ 67. The limits of Narasiṁhagupta's reign cannot be definitely ascertained. Mihirakula probably succeeded his father about A. D. 510.[2] He was defeated by Yaśodharman before A. D. 533–4 (Mandasor inscriptions), probably about A. D. 525,[3] and probably at an earlier date by Narasiṁhagupta. The latter's death, then, probably occurred about A. D. 530: he was succeeded by his son Kumāragupta II Kramāditya by a queen whose name is probably Mahālaksmīdevī.[4] Nothing is known of the events of his reign, to which the Bhitarī seal belongs. The Kālighāt hoard, as far as can be judged from the specimens known to have come from it, consisted mainly of coins of Narasiṁhagupta, Kumāragupta II,

[1] Vincent Smith, *E.H.I.*[2], pp. 300 ff.; Hoernle, *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, pp. 90 ff.
[2] Vincent Smith, *E.H.I.*[2], p. 298; at the latest A. D. 515 (Fleet, *I.A*, 1889, p. 230).
[3] Hoernle, *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, p. 131.
[4] Bhitarī seal, Fleet's reading; *I.A.*, 1890, p. 227.

and coins identical in type to the preceding bearing the name Viṣṇu under the king's arm. It may reasonably be presumed that the name of the latter is Viṣṇugupta and that he was the successor[1] of Kumāragupta II; his title is given on the reverse as Candrāditya. Hoernle would attribute these coins to Viṣṇuvardhana and read the reverse legend as Dharmāditya, but their provenance and character show they must be Gupta coins, and the legend is certainly Candrāditya.[2] We have already discussed the coins of Ghaṭotkacagupta, Candragupta III, and Prakāśāditya, and shown that they must be earlier than the period we have now reached. We are unable to offer any suggestion as to the identity of Harigupta (**Pl. XXIV. 16**) and (Ja)yagu(pta) (**Pl. XXIV. 10**), if this be the name (see § 123); the issuer of the coins which bear the reverse legend *Śrī-Prakāṇḍayaśā(ḥ)* and have *Jaya* beneath the king's arm on the obverse may be connected with Śaśāṅka (see §§ 125, 126); his name may have been Jayagupta, but he is much later than the (Ja)yagu(pta) of **Pl. XXIV. 10**, as the difference in the forms of the *ya* shows: equally puzzling are the coins (**Pl. XXIV. 4, 5**) which bear the reverse title Narendrāditya; **Pl. XXIV. 5** was found with a coin of Śaśāṅka, but the other seems to belong to an earlier period. They may not be both of the same ruler (see §§ 69 and 126); the discovery of further inscriptions of the fifth and sixth century will alone enable us to attribute these coins satisfactorily.

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[1] This has already been suggested by Rapson, *I.C.*, § 93, and the evidence of provenance strengthens his attribution on grounds of style.

[2] Hoernle describes *Candrāditya* as 'in truth an impossible Sanskrit compound'; it is really quite well established; it occurs as the name of a king in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Tawney's transl.. ii, p. 225). Historical examples are Candrāditya, son of the Śilāhāra Jatiga (Kolhāpur inscription of Vijayāditya, l. 5; *Ep. Ind.*, iii, pp. 207 ff.); a private individual mentioned in l. 60 of the Semra plates of Paramardideva (*E.I.*, iv, pp. 153 ff.); the husband of the queen Vijayabhattarikā (or Vijayamahādevī) in her Nerur plates (*I.A.*, vii, p. 163) and Kochrem plates (*I.A.*, viii, l. 45), brother of the W. Calukya Vikramāditya I and son of Pulikeśin II. If a translation must be given for it, it means 'he whose āditya is the moon (Candra)'; cf. the name Ravicandra.

8. Guptas of Eastern Mālwa.

§ 68. Further evidence of the partition of the Gupta empire about the end of Skandagupta's reign is afforded by the existence of coins and inscriptions of a dynasty known as the Guptas of Eastern Mālwa. The Eraṇ inscription[1] of the year 165 (=484–5) records the erection of a *dhvajastambha* by the mahārāja Mātṛviṣṇu, while 'Budhagupta was reigning' and 'Suraśmicandra was governing the land between Kālindi and Narmadā'. That Budhagupta was a ruler of some importance is proved by his coins, which continue the types of the Gupta silver coinage at a time when the latter was no longer issued by the representatives of the line, so that he must have held part at least of the territory in which they had been current: his legend is the claim to be lord of the earth and to have won heaven found on the coins of Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta, which he imitated. They are dated in the year 175 = A. D. 495–6; Budhagupta's date may be put at approximately A. D. 480–500. No coins are known of Bhānugupta, who was presumably his successor, but he is mentioned in an inscription[1] at Eraṇ of the year 191 = A. D. 510–11 erected in memory of a chieftain named Goparāja, who fell in 'a very famous battle' while fighting by the side of 'Bhānugupta, the bravest man on earth, the mighty king'. The dynasty must soon afterwards have fallen before Toramāṇa; indeed it may be presumed that it was in resisting the invader that Goparāja fell.

9. Śaśāṅka, King of Gauḍa.

§ 69. The gold coins which bear on the reverse the name *Śrī-Śaśāṅkaḥ* are attributed to Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa or Karṇa-Suvarṇa in Eastern Bengal, who is known from several contemporary sources. One inscription[2] is known of his reign; it is a copper-plate grant of a village to a Brāhmaṇ by the Mahārāja Madhvarāja II of the Śīlodbhava family, son of Yaśobhīta, son of Madhvarāja I, dated in the Gupta year 300 (A. D. 619–20), while

[1] Fleet, *C.I.I.*, iii, no. 19. [2] *E.I.*, vi. pp. 143 ff.

'the mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Śaśāṅkarāja was ruling the earth'. The seal matrix[1] of *Śrī-mahāsamanta-Śaśāṅkadeva* found at Rohtāsgaḍh in Bengal may also be attributed to Śaśāṅka.

It is, however, from Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* and Hiuen Tsang that we learn most about Śaśāṅka. The Chinese pilgrim says[2] that Rājyavardhana, brother and predecessor of Harṣavardhana, was treacherously murdered by Śaśāṅka (*She-shang-ka*), 'the wicked king of Karṇasuvarṇa (*Ka-lo-na-su-fa-la-na*)' in East India, 'a persecutor of Buddhism'; he frequently refers to this king's persecutions of Buddhism. 'Śaśāṅka exterminated Buddhism'[3]; 'unable to efface the footprints of Buddha from the stone that bore them he threw it into the Ganges, but it returned to its original place'[4]; he cut down the Bodhi tree, but Pūrṇavarma, a descendant of Aśoka, successfully revived it.[5] It is certain, then, that Śaśāṅka was a persecutor of Buddhism, although the Chinese pilgrim may credit him with more than he deserves. On his coins we have a representation of Śiva reclining on his bull Nandi, which is probably evidence that he was an unusually devout Hindu.

Bāṇa[6] likewise says that Rājyavardhana was treacherously slain by the king of Gauḍa, 'being allured to confidence by false civilities', and his work contains other[7] allusions to the Śaśāṅka's treachery. The translators of the *Harṣacarita* detect an allusion to Śaśāṅka, who is otherwise only mentioned by Bāṇa as king of Gauḍa, in the words *Śaśāṅkamaṇḍalam* on p. 199 of the text; the commentary on the opening verses of bk. vi, however, explains that the king who slew Rājyavardhana was Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa (*Śaśāṅkanāmā Gauḍādhipatiḥ*). Bühler[8] states that in

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[1] Fleet, *C.I.I.*, iii, no. 78.

[2] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, i, p. 343; also in Beal, *Records*, i, pp. 210, &c.

[3] Watters, *ibid.*, ii. 43. [4] *Ibid.*, ii. 92. [5] *Ibid.*, ii. 115.

[6] p. 208 of text of the *Harṣacarita*; transl., p. 178.

[7] Transl. pp. 179, 180, 'this vilest of Gauḍas'; p. 185, 'Rājyavardhana lost his life by the sting of the vile Gauḍa serpent.'

[8] *E.I.*, i, p. 70.

one manuscript of the *Harṣacarita*, Śaśāṅka is called Narendragupta; this is also stated by a writer in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1878, p. 197. Hall's[1] statement that the name of the king of Gauḍa who slew Rājyavardhana was Gupta is a not unnatural interpretation of Bhaṇḍi's words *devabhūyam yate deve rājyavardhane guptanāmnā ca grhīte kuśasthale*[2]; Hall supposed the man who slew Rājyavardhana to be the same as he who took Kānyakubja, but it is clear from the second reference to Gupta as a *kulaputra* or noble that he cannot be a Śaśāṅka. It is remarkable that if he were a Gupta we should not have had more satisfactory evidence of the facts. It is possible that the true reading of Bühler's manuscript is *Narendrāditya*, and we should thus be able to attribute to Śaśāṅka one at least of the coins which bear the title Narendrāditya on the reverse; of these the one with the *rājalīlā* type was actually found with a coin of Śaśāṅka; and the fact that the *Garuḍadhvaja* is replaced by a *Nandidhvaja* on the other is evidence that it was issued by a devout Śaiva, as Śaśāṅka undoubtedly was; the latter coin, at least, looks earlier, and we are, moreover, unable to offer any interpretation of the obverse legends which would confirm or strengthen the attribution to Śaśāṅka. We know that Rājyavardhana was slain by Śaśāṅka in A. D. 606, and we have the above-mentioned inscription of the year 300 = 619–20. His date may be approximately placed at A. D. 600–25. The existence of the inscription of G. E. 300 shows that Harṣa's attempt to avenge his brother cannot have been so successful as Bāṇa's elaborate description of the preparations would lead us to expect.

III. COINAGE AND COIN-TYPES.

1. SAMUDRAGUPTA.

§ 70. The attribution of the coins mentioned above (§ 14) to Candragupta I has been universally accepted; according to Vincent Smith they are issued in the joint names of Candragupta,

[1] *Vāsavadattā*, p. 52. [2] Calcutta text, p. 603; transl., p. 224.

Kumāradevī, and the Licchavis.[1] That they commemorate the marriage of Candragupta I and Kumāradevī and the union with the Licchavis is certain, but to the numismatist there are certain difficulties in the way of the attribution to Candragupta I. The commonest coins of Samudragupta, the son and successor of Candragupta I, are of the type to which Vincent Smith has given the name Spearman or Javelin, but which may more correctly be called the Standard type (see § 74). It is evident that Samudragupta's Standard type is a close copy of the later coins of Kushan type, such as have been described by Cunningham (*Num. Chron.*, 1893, Pl. VIII. 2–12 and Pl. IX); practically the only alterations, apart from the legends, are on the obverse, where the Kushan peaked head-dress is replaced by a close-fitting cap, while the trident on the left gives place to a Garuḍa standard (*garuḍadhvaja*), the emblem of Viṣṇu. The king's name is still written vertically; this custom, which was to survive till the end of the dynasty, is to be traced back through the later Kushan coinage to Chinese influence in Central Asia. The reverse type is even more slavishly copied, as we find portions of the back of the throne on the Śaka coins reproduced along with the 'symbol'. The Candragupta coins are one step removed from this prototype by the addition of the figure of the queen on the obverse and the substitution of a lion for a throne on the reverse, though the now meaningless traces of the back of the throne remain; the resemblance to the late Kushan coins is still quite marked. It can safely be asserted that Candragupta I did not strike any coins of the Standard type; if he had, they must have been commoner than the 'medallic' pieces ascribed to him, and would have survived, but none such are known. Samudragupta did not receive from his father's coinage his Standard type, which must be his earliest type as it is closest to the Kushan original. How are we to account for his return to a relatively slavish imitation of Kushan types after the comparative originality of his father's

[1] *I.A.*, 1902, p. 258 and note 7; *E.H.I.*[2], p. 266.

coins? There is no evidence that late Kushan or Śaka coins circulated in the Gupta territory at this time; they belong to the North-West and are rarely found outside the Panjab. Were the Gupta coins a local development in Magadha of the late Kushan coins, from which they are obviously derived, one would expect the latter to be present in finds of Gupta coins, just as we find the silver coins of Candragupta II and Kumāragupta I with their prototypes the coins of the Western Satraps. We must, therefore, place the origin of the Gupta coinage in a period when the Guptas had come into closer contact with the late Great Kushans whose eastern (Panjab) coinage they copy[1]; what historical knowledge we possess points to this period being, not in the reign of Candragupta I, but in that of Samudragupta, to whom the 'Ṣāhis, Ṣāhānuṣāhis and Śakas surrendered the enjoyment of their territories',[2] and the numismatic evidence quite supports this.

§ 71. Apart from the initial presumption that the Candragupta coins, being farther removed from the Kushan type than the Standard type, which has no predecessor struck by Candragupta I. are later, a careful comparison of their fabric with that of the latter points to their having been struck by Samudragupta. A comparison of **Pl. III. 1, 2** with **Pl. I. 1–4**, of **Pl. III. 4, 5** with **Pl. IV. 6**, of **Pl. III. 8, 9** with **Pl. I. 14–17**, or of **Pl. II. 1–5** with the Bodleian coin, *Num. Chron.*, 1891, Pl. II. 1, reveals a similarity of fabric which suggests that these must be contemporaneous issues. The coins in the plates are arranged in what is probably their chronological order, according to the traces of the Ardochṣo throne on the reverse; the coins which bear most traces of the throne are the earliest, while the latest bear practically no trace of the throne. The same gradual development from the original reverse may be traced in the Standard, Archer, Candragupta I, and Battle-axe types. It must be pointed out that the traces of the back of the Ardochṣo throne in the Standard, &c., types are really

[1] Cf. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 19.
[2] Allahabad inscription, l. 23.

quite as meaningless as on the Candragupta I type, where the goddess is seated on a lion; on no specimens do more than portions of the right side appear. The Śaka, or late Kushan, moneyers do not appear to have understood the structure of the throne, and it certainly was quite unintelligible to their Gupta copyists, who appear to have regarded what traces appear of the back of the throne as balancing the 'symbol' on the left side. It is impossible that, if the coin engravers had succeeded in evolving a type like the reverse of **Pl. III. 14** or **15**, they should have reverted in Samudragupta's reign to reverses like **Pl. I. 1–4**, **Pl. IV. 1**, &c., and begun the process of freeing the type from meaningless elements anew. These differences of fabric must also mark the issues of different districts, so that the development of the reverse type also marks the spread of the coinage southwards. The group, **Pl. I. 1–4, III. 1–5, IV. 1–4**, thus consists of the earliest and most northerly issues, while groups like **Pl. I. 14–17** and **III. 8, 9** were issued in the original Gupta territory, where the seated Ardochṣo had never been a familiar figure. We know that Candragupta I's dominions were much smaller than those of his son, and therefore he could not have struck coins like **Pl. III. 1–4** in the district where **Pl. I. 1–4** were issued. It is hardly necessary to point out that the various types are not themselves the issues of different districts.

§ 72. The earliest reverse of the Lion-slayer type (see § 90) of Candragupta II bears a goddess seated on a lion holding a cornucopiae, and closely resembles the reverse of the Candragupta I coins; this suggests that the latter immediately preceded the former. This type is found on no other coins attributed to Samudragupta, and it is unlikely that a type afterwards so popular should have been dropped throughout his long reign. The survival of the cornucopiae on var. *α* and *β* (probably northern issues) is further evidence that they closely followed the Candragupta I type. The Standard, &c., coins of Samudragupta bear long legends referring to his conquests, and it is therefore probable that they

were not struck at the beginning of his reign; if Candragupta I issued coins it would be remarkable that Samudragupta did not immediately continue their issue. Candragupta I reigned for a comparatively long period, and it is unlikely that, as he was a *mahārājādhirāja*, he was content to issue a 'joint' coinage throughout his reign. There is no parallel for a joint coinage, and it is contrary to all numismatic laws for a series to open with such a remarkable development from its prototype. The right of coinage has never been the jealously exercised symbol of sovereignty among Hindus that it was amongst Muhammadans. Some of the greatest of Hindu sovereigns, e.g. Harṣavardhana, do not appear to have struck coins at all. While it may be correct to say that Ghaṭotkaca did not strike coins, as he was only a *mahārāja*, it certainly does not follow that Candragupta I struck coins on his assumption of the title *mahārājādhirāja*.

§ 73. The coins in question, therefore, cannot be attributed to Candragupta I, but were issued by Samudragupta in commemoration of his father and his own Licchavi descent. The obverse legends simply state who the figures are, and the type commemorates the marriage of Candragupta I with Kumāradevī; on certain pieces he is clearly offering her a wedding armlet or ring (*vivāhakautuka*). The credit of instituting the Gupta coinage therefore belongs to Samudragupta, and it is probable that its institution dates from a comparatively late period in his reign.

§ 74. *Standard Type.* The name Javelin or Spearman type applied to this type by Vincent Smith does not accurately describe the object in the king's left hand, from which the type takes its name; it is not a spear or a javelin in those specimens on which its top is distinct; on **Pl. I. 7–13** and **Pl. II. 2–4** it clearly has a flat or rounded top as on certain late Kushan coins (*N.C.*, 1893, Pl. VIII. 3–6, &c.). It is true that the end which rests on the ground bears some resemblance to a spear-head (e.g. **Pl. I. 8–9**), but, apart from the fact that this is not the way a spear would

be held, it is really the butt, as the ends of the battle-axe and Garuḍa standards are similar (e. g. **Pl. IV. 12, 14** and **Pl. III. 11**). It may therefore be best described as a standard, and is obviously a reproduction of the object held by the king on such late Kushan coins as *Num. Chron.*, 1893, Pl. VIII. 5–6, which is not a spear but a standard or sceptre, and in its turn may be traced to the trident held by Vāsudeva (e. g. *B. M. Cat., Greek and Scythic Coins*, Pl. XXIX. 10 ff.). The type, which is really quite conventional, may therefore be called the 'Standard' type.

§ 75. It is impossible to say definitely what late Kushan coins formed the prototype of Samudragupta's coinage, but they were probably of the type illustrated by Cunningham in *N. C.*, 1893, Pl. VIII. 5–8 or IX. 1–4. A comparison with these reveals but little change, though the workmanship is much superior. Samudragupta is represented standing to l.[1] wearing the Kushan dress as represented in these coins (for the original form cf. *N.C.*, 1893, Pl. VIII. 1 or 13); as is usual on the late Kushan coins with Ardochṣo reverse, the king wears no sword. The high Kushan head-dress is replaced by a tight-fitting cap, while the king wears ear-rings and other jewellery not found on the Kushan coins. In the left hand he holds a standard bound with a fillet, as on the Kushan coins. On his right is a small altar on which he sprinkles incense. This attitude may be traced back to the coins of Kaniṣka; on the left of Vāsudeva's coins there is a trident bound with a fillet, which was continued by his successors; this is represented on the Gupta coins by a Garuḍa standard (*Garuḍadhvaja*), also bound with a fillet. Garuḍa, the bird and vehicle of Viṣṇu, was the badge

[1] Vincent Smith's var. β (*J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 70) with king to r., &c., given on the authority of *As. Res.*, xvii, Pl. I. 5, p. 567, does not exist; every detail on both obverse and reverse in the engraving is reversed, e. g. standard is on r., symbol on r., rev. legend on l., cornucopiae on l., &c., and, most notable of all, the letters of the legends are reversed and the inscription reads from r. to l. Wilson himself never saw the coin, but describes it from a 'drawing in the possession of the Society'. The coin is said to have been in the possession of Colonel Grace. This drawing was probably taken from a mould of the coin.

of the Guptas and appears on their seals, as for example the Bhitarī seal and the seal of Samudragupta (?) on the forged Gayā grant; that it was the personal seal of Samudragupta we know from ll. 23 f. of the Allahabad inscription where the kings of the north, &c., are represented as asking for 'charters bearing the Garuḍa seal'.[1] There seems no reason to suppose, as has been done,[2] that this Garuḍa standard is in any way copied from the Roman eagle; the resemblance is quite a coincidence, and *Garuḍadhvaja*s were common objects in India.[3] As on the Kushan coins the king's head is surrounded by a halo, to the left of which, on the specimens which approach most closely to the Kushan original, is a crescent (e.g. **Pl. I. 1–4**). The presence of this crescent is difficult to explain, but it is most probably to be traced to an O in the original Greek legend, which on such coins as *N.C.*, 1893, Pl. VIII. 9 had degenerated into a crescent.

§ 76. The reverse is copied in its entirety from the late Kushan APΔOXÞO reverse. The goddess Ardochṣo, seated facing on a high-backed throne holding cornucopiae in l. arm and fillet in outstretched r. hand, does not appear on the early Kushan coins (Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, or Vāsudeva). A similar throne with a seated Zeus is found at an earlier period, e.g. on coins of Hermaeus, but it is possibly to Roman solidi with a seated figure of Abundantia that this type may be traced; on Roman coins, however, the goddess never appears facing. The type may also be compared with the Demeter (?) on a coin of Azes (*B. M. Cat., Greek and Scythic Coins*, Pl. XIX. 2) and with the Gandhāra sculpture illustrated in *Arch. Survey Rep.*, 1903–4, Pl. LXVIII. 4. The back of the throne soon became unintelligible to the Kushan engravers, as it certainly was to those of the Guptas, who never give more

[1] See above, p. xxv and note.

[2] Vincent Smith, *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, pp. 23, 24.

[3] E.g. the Śilāhāra prince Vijayādityadiva in his Kohlāpur inscription (*E.I.*, iii, pp. 207–10), l. 10, describes himself as *suvarṇṇagaruḍadhvajah*; cf. the Besnagar inscription A (*J.R.A.S.*, 1910, p. 817), &c.

than the right side of it. Like the earlier Kushan coins, the later also bear on the left a symbol or monogram, the original significance of which is unknown, which was likewise copied by the Gupta engravers. This symbol [1] cannot have had any meaning for the latter; it seems to have been regarded as more or less of an ornament balancing the fragments of the back of the throne on the right, or possibly it was associated with the cornucopiae, to them equally meaningless, as it rarely appears on coins from which the cornucopiae is absent. They seem to have copied it (e. g. **Pl. I. 1–4, II. 1–4, III. 1–5**) exactly as they found it and then developed it as an ornament. It cannot be regarded as a deliberate mint-mark, though it may be used to check a classification by fabric and style such as has been adopted in this catalogue; cf. **Pl. I. 1–4, 14–17**; **IV. 14–15**, for example.

The gradual disappearance of meaningless elements, such as the fragments of the back of the throne, is clearly a guide to the chronological arrangement of the specimens of each type and, though it is impossible to be certain in the absence of definite mint-marks and sufficient evidence from finds, probably indicates a southward movement in the development of the coinage; for example, **Pl. I. 1–4, Pl. III. 1–4**, and **Pl. IV. 1–4**, though of different types, are more closely connected by fabric with one another than with any other specimens of the same type; these were probably struck in the north, while coins like **Pl. I. 14–17** and **Pl. III. 8–9**, which are comparatively free from traces of the back of the throne, were struck in the south, where the prototype was unknown; this would account for the survival of the cornucopiae of the throne reverse down to Candragupta II's reign and perhaps to Kumāragupta's (see § 99), as such elements would tend to survive in the north, where Ardochṣo had been a familiar figure for centuries; it should be noted, however, that no such marked difference of fabric can be observed in the coins of Samudragupta's successors.

[1] The term 'symbol' may be preferred to 'monogram' as it is not a combination of letters.

§ 77. The Gupta moneyers likewise retained the object, possibly even there a representation of a lotus, on which the feet of the goddess rest. It is not till the Battle-axe type that this object can be at once identified as a lotus flower, and on a few specimens of this type the goddess holds a lotus flower in place of a cornucopiae. The Gupta engravers therefore interpreted the Ardochṣo of their models as Lakṣmī, but it was some time before they represented her with her characteristic attributes. When the last trace of the throne disappears we have a regular Indian Lakṣmī seated on a lotus, as she appeared at the creation (*padmavasā*, *padmagṛhā*). Although Lakṣmī might very suitably be represented with a cornucopiae, just as is the Roman Abundantia, who is possibly the original of the Ardochṣo type, its significance was unintelligible to the Hindus, and it is possible that its resemblance to a flower led them to replace it by a lotus.

§ 78. *Archer Type.* The Archer type, in which the standard in the king's left hand is replaced by a bow, and the altar on l. is replaced by an arrow in the king's r. hand, was issued a little later than his Standard type, which it was destined to supplant. The king's dress and attitude are identical. The fact that the standard is a meaningless reproduction of the standard on the late Kushan coins is shown by the fact that it was soon replaced by such intelligible weapons as a bow, a battle-axe, or a crescent-topped standard. The reverse type is identical with that of the Standard type except for the legend. In this type we perhaps have an allusion to Viṣṇu as Śārṅgin.

§ 79. *Battle-axe Type.* Next in order of issue may be placed the Battle-axe type. The attitude of the king on this type is similar to the preceding types, but in his left hand he holds a battle-axe (*paraśu*) and rests his right hand on his hip; on some specimens he wears a sword. As the legend shows Samudragupta is here represented as equal to Yama, the god of death (Kṛtānta, the end-maker), with whose axe he is armed. On the left is a second figure,

apparently of a boy, who cannot be identified. Though the title *Kṛtāntaparaśu* is not applied to Samudragupta in his Allahabad inscription, it is regularly given him in the inscriptions of his successors, and that it was well known in his time is shown by the fact that the initial syllable *Kṛ* occupies the place in the field occupied by his name on certain specimens (**Pl. IV. 13, 14**). The reverse type is similar to that of the preceding coins except that the object on which the feet of the goddess rest is clearly a lotus, and on certain specimens the goddess is seated on a lotus instead of a throne. There seem to be no coins of this type of early or northern fabric, but the two coins, **Pl. IV. 15. 16**, which differ from the others in having the full name *Samudragupta* on the obverse and have a lotus instead of the cornucopiae on the reverse, are probably of a different mint from the others, as their fabric and apparently baser metal shows. The type commemorates Samudragupta's victories, and represents him as as irresistible as the god of Death; it must therefore belong to the later part of his reign. Three varieties are distinguished according to the legend under the king's arm: *α*, *Samudra*; *β*, *Kṛ.*: *γ*, *Samudragupta*; in the fourth, which is closely connected in style with *γ*, the legend is *Samudra*, but the positions of the king and boy are reversed. This coin was only known from Wilson's illustration (*A.A.*, Pl. XVIII. 10), but an impression of it has been found among some old impressions in the British Museum, unfortunately too late for illustration.

§ 80. *Candragupta I Type.* The coins issued by Samudragupta to commemorate his father and mother have already been discussed above (§§ 70–3). On the obverse we have Candragupta I holding a crescent-topped standard in an attitude similar to that of Samudragupta on the preceding coins, offering a ring or bracelet to Kumāradevī. The reverse type is a goddess depicted exactly as on the Standard or Archer type. but seated on a lion; she is probably to be again identified as Lakṣmī, or she may be Mahādevī (Durgā, Ambikā), whose vehicle is the lion

(*siṅharathī, siṅhavāhinī*). The lion is couched to right or left indifferently. The attitude of the lion cannot be taken as a means of division of the coins of this type, as the fabric shows: **Pl. III. 1, 2**, or **8, 9**, &c., are much more closely connected by fabric than **1** and **8** or **2** and **9**, though the latter pairs agree in the position of the lion. On certain rare coins (*Num. Chron.*, 1892, Pl. XII. 19) of Huviṣka the goddess Nano is seated on a lion, but there is no connexion between these two types. This type of Ambikā is familiar from sculpture.

§ 81. *Kāca Type.* The attribution of the coins bearing the name Kāca to Samudragupta is no longer doubted (cf. above, § 34). The attitude of the king sprinkling incense on an altar on the obverse closely resembles the Standard type, but he holds a standard surmounted by a wheel-like object which is probably to be identified as the discus or *cakra* of Viṣṇu. The reverse type, which shows considerable originality, represents the goddess Lakṣmī standing to l. holding a lotus flower in her r. hand (*padmakarā*) and a cornucopiae in her left arm.

§ 82. *Tiger Type.* The rarest of Samudragupta's coins are of the Tiger type, of which only four specimens are known. The type, which is quite an original one, represents the king trampling on a tiger which falls back as he shoots it; behind it is a crescent-topped standard as on the Battle-axe type. The king wears waistcloth, turban, and jewellery, and his energetic attitude forms a striking contrast to the conservatism of the preceding types. On the reverse is a female figure standing on a *makara*[1] (an elephant-headed fish), holding a lotus flower: on her right is a standard similar to that on the obverse. The identification of the reverse figure is a matter of some difficulty; she cannot be the goddess Lakṣmī, and the *makara* points to a river-goddess. She may be best identified as the goddess Gaṅgā, whose vehicle is the *makara*.

[1] Cf. *Arch. Surv. Reports*, 1903–4, pp. 227–32.

§ 83. *Lyrist Type.* The Lyrist or Lute-player type is one quite unique among Indian coins. On it Samudragupta is represented on a high-backed couch playing an Indian lute or lyre (*vīṇā*),[1] and it affords striking corroboration of the testimony of the Allahabad inscription to the monarch's musical skill.[2] As on the Tiger type, there is no trace of Kushan influence on the king's attitude or dress; except for his jewellery he is naked to the waist: on some specimens (**Pl. V. 1–4**) he appears to wear the tight-fitting cap worn on other types, but on others he is distinctly bareheaded (**Pl. V. 5**). The reverse type is the goddess Lakṣmī as before but seated l. on a wicker stool. This type, which became popular in later reigns, is an original deviation from the Ardochṣo type, and there is no reason to assume foreign influence, as has been done by some writers.[3] It may be that a trace of the throne survives in the line on the right which separates the legend from the type. The coins may be divided into two classes: (*a*) fine large coins with footstool without symbol on the reverse, evidently all issues of one mint, probably that of the capital; they all have the eastern *h* (𑀳); these again may be subdivided according as the back of the throne is upright or sloping, a distinction accompanied by a difference in the portraiture of the king; on the latter (**Pl. V. 5–7**) also he is bareheaded, and on the former (**Pl. V. 1–4**) he wears a cap: (*b*) small coins with symbol without footstool (**Pl. V. 8**),[4] evidently the issues of a provincial mint; they have the northern *h* (𑀲). The syllable *si* which occurs on the footstool or pedestal on class *a* has not been explained; it may be an abbreviation for *siddham*. Both classes have the simple legend[5] *Mahārājadhirāja-Śrī-Samudraguptaḥ* in place of the usual boast of conquest and claim to have acquired merit. The coins appear to be of the nature of

[1] It is really a kind of guitar.

[2] l. 27, niśitavidagdhamatigāndarvalalitair-vṛditatridaśapatiguru-Tumburu-Nāradādeḥ.

[3] Vincent Smith, *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 24.

[4] The only others known are *I.M.C.*, Pl. XV. 5, and one recently acquired by Mr. W. E. M. Campbell.

[5] Pl. V. 4 seems to have only *rājādhirāja*, &c.

medals and must belong to a late period of the reign. The reading *Sarmudraguptah* on the reverse of two coins (**Pl. V. 1** and *I.M.C.*, xv. 4) for the usual Samudragupta may be simply explained as follows. The moneyer had thoughtlessly began to engrave the Kāca reverse legend, *sarvarājocchettā*, and when he got as far as *sarv* he corrected himself by adding the *u* and emphasizing the top stroke of the *v* produced a passable *(r)m(u)*. It will be noted that the *m* on these two specimens is practically closed like a *v* in contrast to the open *m* on the other coins. The type therefore may have been issued soon after the Kāca type. It is possible that this type is connected with Samudragupta's Aśvamedha sacrifice; at one stage of the sacrifice a Rājanya lute-player, *(rājanyo vīnāgāthī)* sang three gāthās composed by himself to the notes of the lute descriptive of the sacrificer's valour in battle and his victories.[1] It is, however, improbable that Samudragupta would play this part himself, and the type had best be interpreted as representing the monarch at his favourite amusement, though the presence of the syllable *si(ddham)* in the field forms a close link with the Aśvamedha type.

§ 84. *Aśvamedha Type.* We know from the inscriptions of his successors that Samudragupta revived the Horse-Sacrifice, which 'had long been in abeyance *(cirotsanna)*'. There seems to be no allusion to this sacrifice in the Allahabad inscription (cf. above, § 31). The coins which were issued on the occasion of this sacrifice in commemoration of it and as *dakṣiṇā*[2] for distribution among the Brahmans who participated, are not the rarest of this monarch's issues and must have been issued in large numbers.[3] The Aśvamedha

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[1] Their substance should be, ayuddhyatetyamuṁ saṁgrāmamajayaditi (Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 4, 3, 5).

[2] Fabulous sums are said to have been distributed on these occasions; cf. the accounts in the epics; in the *Mahābhārata*: *Aśvamedhaparvan* (lxxxviii. 13) the sacrifice is said to have been known as the Bahusuvarṇaka sacrifice from the quantity of gold distributed at it.

[3] Cf. the *Anekagohiraṇyakoṭiprada* of the inscriptions applied to Samudragupta.

sacrifice [1] might be performed before setting out on a campaign of conquest or in celebration of the acquisition of supremacy after a series of conquests (more usually the latter). 'Verily the Aśvamedha means royal sway [2]; it is after royal sway that they strive who guard the horse. . . . Wherefore let him who holds royal sway perform the horse-sacrifice—for verily whosoever performs the horse-sacrifice without possessing royal sway is swept away.' [3] This sacrifice 'involved an assertion of power and a display of political authority such as only a monarch of undisputed supremacy could have ventured upon without courting humiliation; and its celebration must therefore have been an event of comparatively rare occurrence'.[4] On the obverse of the coin is a representation of the doomed horse standing to r. before a decorated sacrificial post (*yūpa*); it is probably represented as bound to it (e.g. **Pl. V. 10**), but this point is not clear: beneath the horse is the syllable *si*, which is probably a contraction for *siddham*; on some specimens (Bodleian, *N.C.*, 1891, Pl. II. 2; *I.M.C.*, Pl. XV. 3) there appears to be a low pedestal below the horse; this may be a brick of the altar, in which case the horse is represented standing on an altar; it might, on the other hand, be identified with the slab of gold on which the Hotṛ sat; on the reverse is a female figure standing l. holding a chowrie (*cāmara*) on her shoulder; she must be identified as Samudragupta's chief queen (*mahiṣī*), probably Dattadevī, who played an important part in the sacrifice, as did other of the king's wives. She is standing to left on what on some coins appears to be the conventional lotus on which Lakṣmī stands in other types. It is clear from **Pl. V. 11, 13**, and **14**, and *I.M.C.*, Pl. XV. 3, that it is not a lotus, and what seems to be petals on **Pl. V. 9–12** is really a sort of chain, the exact significance of which cannot be

[1] Cf. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, p. 150, 76; Geldner in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (s. v.) Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 1–5; Barnett, *Antiquities of India*, pp. 169–71; and Eggeling's introduction to his translation (*S.B.E.*, xlv, pp. xv ff.).

[2] *Rāṣṭram.*

[3] Śat. Br., xiii. 1, 6, 3, transl. Eggeling.

[4] Eggeling, *op. cit.*, vol. v, p. xv.

determined. At the feet of the queen on **Pl. V. 14**, and perhaps on **Pl. V. 13**, there is an uncertain object which looks like a gourd.

On the left stands an object which Vincent Smith describes as a staff or standard[1]; it seems more probable that it is a spear, as he had previously suggested,[2] its head being identical with the object found by Sir Walter Elliot near Puṛal, the ancient Kudumbar capital, and now in the British Museum, which he suggested might be a state halberd.[3] Its appearance on this coin shows that it must be closely connected with the sacrifice, and we would therefore suggest that it is a sacrificial or ceremonial spear.

2. Candragupta II.

§ 85. *Archer Type.* The Archer coins of Candragupta are by far the commonest of the whole series, and a considerable number of varieties may be distinguished, which gives a clue to the chronological arrangement of the series. They may be divided into two great classes according to the seat of the goddess on the reverse, (A) Throne reverse, and (B) Lotus reverse. It is possible that the former, on the majority of which the goddess still holds a cornucopiae and thus more closely resemble the Archer coins of Samudragupta, are earlier than the latter which always have the lotus: it is not improbable, however, that the distinction is one of place, and that the Throne coins belong to the northern provinces while the latter belong to the central or eastern provinces. No such marked difference of fabric, however, can be noted as exists in the case of the Standard coins of Samudragupta, and, in the absence of satisfactory evidence from finds, it is impossible to insist that these two classes are geographically distinct. Such a coin as **Pl. VI. 7** with throne reverse and Lakṣmī holding lotus, a reverse type almost identical to that of the rare Couch type, presents characteristics of both classes, and probably forms a connecting link chronologically.

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[1] *I. M. Cat.*, i, p. 101.

[2] *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 65.

[3] *Coins of Southern India*, p. 28, note 5, with illustration.

The obverse type is similar to that of the Archer coins of Samudragupta. The king still wears the Kushan dress, and the conservatism of the type even in its details forms a contrast to the other types of Candragupta II. The reverse is as before, the goddess Lakṣmī. The Throne reverse class may be divided into three varieties according to the position of the bow and the name *Candra* on the obverse, and a fourth with a distinct reverse, as follows:

α. King holds bow by top with bowstring inwards, *Candra* between string and king (**Pl. VI. 1, 2**).

β. King holds bow by top with bowstring inwards, *Candra* between string and bow (**Pl. VI. 3, 4**).

γ. King holds bow by middle with string outwards, *Candra* outside string (**Pl. VI. 5, 6**).

In *α*, *β*, and *γ* the goddess holds a cornucopiae, and traces of the back of the throne survive. On var. *δ*, **Pl. VI. 7**, the obverse is as on var. *α*, but the reverse is quite free from traces of the back of the throne, while the goddess holds a lotus in her l. hand in place of a cornucopiae, and has a well-defined lotus-flower as a footstool. This variety is also distinguished by the use of the 'eastern' 𑖞 (*h*) in the legend in place of 𑖟 on the other varieties, and the close resemblance of its reverse to that of the Couch type points to its having been struck in the capital Pāṭaliputra.

§ 86. Four main varieties of the Lotus reverse class may be distinguished according to the obverse. The obverse of var. *α* (**Pl. VI. 10–12**) is quite distinct; on it the king does not hold an arrow, but is drawing one from a quiver which stands in the place occupied by the altar on earlier coins; the Hon. Mr. R. Burn, who first called attention to this rare variety, described the object as an altar,[1] but it may more appropriately be identified as a quiver full of arrows; the king holds the bow as usual by the top. On two of the known specimens *Candra* is between the string and the

[1] *Num. Chron.*, 1910, p. 399.

bow, and on the third it is outside the bow although the string is inward. All three have the same reverse, the goddess Lakṣmī seated on a lotus, holding fillet and lotus-flower with long stalk in her outstretched hands; they are coins of fine workmanship, and are connected in style with certain Lion-slayer coins (**Pl. IX. 3** and **13**).

The great majority of this class belong to the next variety, *β* (**Pl. VI. 13–18, VII. 1–17**). On the obverse the king holds bow at top in l. hand and holds arrow in r. hand as in Class I. The reverse design is as on the preceding type, but the position of her l. arm and the lotus it holds differs. Minor varieties may thus be distinguished: on **Pl. VI. 13–18** her l. arm is held out with hand on a level with the shoulder, holding lotus with a very short stalk. On **Pl. VIII. 4** and **6–17** she rests l. hand on her hip and holds lotus with long stalk in it; her attitude on **Pl. VII. 5** is similar to variety *α*. There appear to be certain differences of fabric within this class; certain coins are distinguished by heavy weight and baser metal and connected by the presence of a crescent above the Garuḍa standard (**Pl. VII. 11–13**) and others by a wheel-like object, which is probably to be identified as the *cakra* of Viṣṇu, in the same position (**Pl. VII. 15–17**); the presence of specimens of the latter in the Kālighāt hoard may be evidence that they belong to the most eastern provinces of the Gupta empire.

Var. *γ* (**Pl. VII. 18**) has a similar reverse to the preceding variety, but on the obverse the king holds bow in l. hand and arrow in r.; he also differs in no longer wearing the conventional Kushan dress, but wears waistcloth with sash, as usual on the types that show some originality. In var. *δ* (**Pl. VII. 19**) the king is standing to l. with bow in r. hand on r., leaning his l. arm on his hip while the Garuḍa standard is on l.; it looks at first sight as if the engraver had reversed the die, but the fact that the king does not hold an arrow, and that he is dressed as in var. *γ*, shows that it is to be regarded as a distinct type. Both these varieties are rare; there are two other specimens of var. *γ* in the Indian Museum (*Cat.*, i, p. 107, nos. 35, 36), while the British Museum

specimen of var. δ from the Bharsar hoard (*J.A.S.B.*, 1852, Pl. XII. 3) is unique.

§ 87. *Couch Type.* This is the rarest of Candragupta's coins, only two specimens being known. The king is seated on a high-backed couch, as on the Lyrist type of Samudragupta, holding a flower (lotus) in uplifted r. hand, leaning l. hand on side of couch or dais; the reverse type is Lakṣmī seated on a throne without back, holding lotus in l. hand and fillet (?) in r., exactly as on Class I, δ of the Archer type, with which the eastern ꠉ (*h*) in the legends forms a connecting link in the obverses. The two known specimens (**Pl. VI. 8, 9**) differ in many details; both have the legend in the genitive, while the Indian Museum specimen has the additional legend *rūpākṛtī*, which seems to show that the type is similar in significance to the Lyrist type of Samudragupta. The reverse of the Indian Museum specimen has the legend on the left side, while it has the double *k* in *vikrama*, unlike the British Museum specimen. It is probable that this type was issued for some special purpose, and it may be attributed to Pāṭaliputra. That it was issued early in the reign seems to be shown by the throne reverse.

§ 88. *Chattra Type.* This is the type to which Vincent Smith has given the name 'Umbrella'; it seems better to retain the Indian term, as it has the technical meaning of a symbol of royal power. Coins of this type are rare, but a number of varieties may be distinguished. They may be divided into classes with different obverse legends. Of the first of these, with the king's name and title, two specimens only are known (Dr. Hoey's Pl. VIII. 1 and *I.M.C.*, i, Pl. XVI. 1); the second class has a legend similar to that of the Archer type of Samudragupta. The obverse type is the same on all: king standing l. sacrificing at altar with r. hand, and leaning l. hand on sword hilt; behind him a boy or dwarf attendant holds chattra over him; on the first class the reverse type is the goddess Lakṣmī standing l., holding lotus-flower and fillet; the reverse type of the second class is similar, but varieties may be distinguished according as the goddess is: α, standing

facing (arising out of the opening lotus-flower from which she was born at the creation?) (**Pl. VIII. 2–5**); β, standing on an altar to l. (**Pl. VIII. 6**); γ, standing three-quarter l.; δ, similar, but walking to l. (**Pl. VIII. 8, 9**): ϵ. walking to l., holding lotus only (**Pl. VIII. 10**), varieties γ and ϵ are further characterized by the orthographic peculiarity *kkr* in the reverse legend. A similar obverse type is also found on one variety of this emperor's copper coins (see § 94).

§ 89. *Lion-slayer Type.* Under this type are here included all the coins on which Candragupta II is represented in combat with a lion, viz. Vincent Smith's Lion-trampler, Combatant Lion, and Retreating Lion types, and the recently discovered type to which Burn[1] has given the name Lion-slayer. Vincent Smith's Lion-trampler and Combatant Lion differ so little in the attitude of the king that, particularly as they have the same legends, they can hardly be considered distinct types. Three different obverse legends may be distinguished. and the coins have here been divided into three classes accordingly, while a fourth class is formed by Burn's Lion-slayer type on account of the striking originality of its obverse type, although it has the same obverse legend as Class I, and is closely connected by its reverse type with several varieties of the same class.

The great majority of the coins fall into Class I. in which no fewer than eight varieties may be distinguished. The obverse type represents the king standing to l. or shooting a lion with bow and arrow. On varieties α–ζ he wears a turban and waistcloth with long sashes, and in the others he wears a waistcloth only, without sashes, and is bareheaded. When he is represented standing to r. he holds the bow, as might be expected, in his l. hand and draws the string back with his r.; when he is to l. he holds the bow in his r. hand and draws back the string with his l. hand. It would appear at first sight that the latter were due to a mistake of the engraver of the dies; they are, however. too numerous for this

[1] *Num. Chron.*, 1910, p. 406.

explanation to be accepted; besides, in var. ξ, one of the commonest varieties, the king's feet are in a position not found on any other variety, while no coins of Class III are known in which the king is to r. It seems probable, then, that the king is deliberately represented as ambidextrous.

§ 90. The reverse type represents a goddess seated on a lion, holding cornucopiae, lotus or fillet, or both; these attributes would suggest her identification with Lakṣmī, while the lion suggests Durgā or Ambikā, whose vehicle is the lion and who is therefore called *siṁharathā* or *siṁhavāhinī*. Varieties may be distinguished according to the position and attributes of the goddess, but the direction of the lion is of no importance.

Varieties α and β, which differ only in the attitude of the king on the obverse, are distinguished from other varieties by the fact that the goddess has a cornucopiae in her l. arm. It may be suggested that these belong to the northern dominions, as the cornucopiae would be more likely to survive there than in districts where it had never been a familiar object; as these do not present any marked difference in fabric from the 'lotus' coins it may be that they are merely the earliest issues of the type and follow more closely the reverse of the Candragupta I type of the preceding reign, which was soon modified. In favour of the view that these varieties and the corresponding Archer coins are geographically distinct is the fact that the cornucopiae survives into the reign of Kumāragupta (Lion-slayer, var. α), although in an almost unintelligible form.

In var. γ the king is to r. and the goddess is seated facing, holding a lotus in her l. hand and stretching out her r. hand empty; the lion is to l. on all the coins known of this variety. The workmanship of these coins closely resembles that of a series of Archer coins (**Pl. VI. 17, 18**), and as both were well represented in the Mirzapur hoard it may be that they are the issues of a separate mint.

The rare var. δ, which is unrepresented in the British Museum

collection, consists of large coins of good workmanship; the obverse is similar to the preceding, but the goddess on the reverse holds a fillet in her r. hand in addition to the lotus in her l., and the lion is walking to l. On one specimen (**Pl. VIII. 17**) the goddess is looking to r. instead of facing as usual. The obverse of var. ϵ is similar, but the reverse is quite distinct. The goddess is seated astride of the lion to l., holding a lotus in her outstretched r. hand, while her l. hand rests on the lion's haunch; the lotus-flower occupies the place usually occupied by the symbol, which is absent on this variety.

On all the specimens known of var. ζ the king is to l., and his attitude differs in that he is not trampling on the lion, but his r. foot may be clearly distinguished beside it; the goddess on the reverse is facing, holding both lotus and fillet as in var. δ, and her attitude differs slightly from that of the other varieties. **Pl. IX. 3** differs from other specimens of this variety in that the l. hand on the reverse is outstretched; its fabric is quite distinct, and connects it with Class II, α of the Archer type and Class IV of this type.

In var. η the king is standing to r. with legs together, and his attitude contrasts with the vigour of the preceding varieties: the reverse of two specimens resembles that of var. γ, while that of the third (**Pl. IX. 9**) is identical with **Pl. IX. 5** of var. ζ.

Var. θ probably belongs to this class, though the legend is quite uncertain; the obverse differs considerably from the preceding varieties. The lion, instead of facing the king, is retreating to r. with head turned back while the king shoots it as he leans his r. foot on its back; the reverse closely resembles that of the first two specimens of the preceding variety.

§ 91. Class II is at present represented by only one coin; the obverse type resembles Class I, η; the reverse differs from any of the preceding class in that the head of the lion is turned back and the goddess holds a lotus with short stalk in her uplifted hand while her r. hand is outstretched empty as on Class I, γ.

Var. α of Class III is one of the finest coins in the series; the obverse represents a lion retreating to l. followed by the king holding a bow in his r. hand and an arrow in l. The reverse is similar in type to Class I, ζ, but differs (in having *Śrī* prefixed in the legend) from all the other coins of this type. The obverse of var. β is similar to that of α, while the reverse is identical with Class I, γ.

Class IV is the only class of this type in which the king is not armed with a bow; here he is represented with a heavy sword in his r. hand, slaying a lion which is retreating from him in a defensive attitude; the reverse is identical with **Pl. IX. 3** of Class I, ζ except for a slight variation in the position of the legs of the goddess.

§ 92. *Horseman Type.* Candragupta II introduced this type to the Gupta series and used it extensively, as did his successor Kumāragupta I, whose commonest type it is. Vincent Smith[1] has proposed to divide the coins of this type into two classes—horseman to r. and horseman to l. according to the direction of the rider. This classification has been rejected here as the distinction proposed is quite an artificial one which separates coins of very similar fabric (e.g. **Pl. IX. 14** and **15**, **X. 7** and **8**). The classification here proposed is based on the presence or absence of a symbol on the reverse, the latter being probably a later class, or possibly the issues of a particular mint.

The obverse type represents the king on horseback: on most coins he is fully clothed, but on some (e.g. **Pl. X. 1**) he wears only a waistcloth, the long sashes of which fly behind on almost all specimens; at his l. side he wears a sword which is, of course, only visible on coins in which he is riding to the l. On a few coins he has a bow in his l. hand. The horse is fully caparisoned in the Indian fashion,[2] wearing a plume[3] (*cāmara* or chowrie) on its

[1] *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, pp. 84–7; *I. M. Cat.*, i, pp. 107–8.

[2] Cf. the representation of horsemen in sculpture.

[3] Cf. the *niṣkampācāmaraśikhā* applied to the king's horses in *Śakuntalā*, Act I. 8.

head. There is usually a crescent at the end of the legend on the specimens on which the king is represented as riding to r.

The reverse design closely follows that of Samudragupta's Lyrist type. The goddess Lakṣmī is seated to l., as on the coins of that type, on a wicker stool, holding a fillet in her outstretched hand, while the cornucopiae in her l. arm is replaced by a lotus-flower with long stalk, which she holds in her hand in slightly varying positions. That no specimens are known of this type in which the goddess holds a cornucopiae points to its having been issued probably late in the reign or in the southern provinces only. On the coins with symbol the king is usually to l., and on the others to r., but no generalization can be made.

§ 93. *Silver Coins.* When Candragupta II extended his power to the west and overthrew the last member of the dynasty of the Western Kṣatrapas, towards the end of the fourth century, he began to strike silver coins for those regions modelled on those of his predecessors. The conventional head which had done duty for centuries as a portrait of the reigning satrap continued to appear on Candragupta's coins as his portrait; the date retained its place behind the head on the left, with the letter 𑀯 (*va*), a contraction for *varṣe*,[1] although the Śaka era was replaced by that of the Guptas. Candragupta likewise retained the few traces of the once significant Greek legend[2] on the Kṣatrapa coins; the reverse type, on the other hand, is an entirely new one; the *caitya* which had served for three centuries on the Kṣatrapa coins was replaced by a figure of Garuḍa standing facing with outspread wings, while the cluster of dots above on the right and the wavy line beneath were retained, as was the border of dots. Previous writers[3] have identified the bird on the reverse as a peacock, but there can be no doubt that it is a Garuḍa, the characteristic heraldic emblem

[1] Cf. Rapson, *C.A. & W.K.*, pp. cxlviii and cli.

[2] Cf. *ibid.*, pp. cxci–cxciv.

[3] Vincent Smith, *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 120; Rapson, *Indian Coins*, § 91, and in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion*, s.v. Coins.

of the Guptas,[1] as a comparison with the undoubted Garuḍa on the copper coins or the *garuḍadhvaja* on the gold will show. The peacock appears quite naturally in allusion to Kārttikeya on certain silver coins of Kumāragupta I, and no one can have the slightest hesitation in identifying it as such there. These coins, however, are of Central fabric, and it will be seen below (§ 104) that the Garuḍa remained the reverse type on Kumāragupta's western issues also. Not only was the bird of Viṣṇu placed on the coins, but the legend, as on the Horseman type, expresses the king's devotion to that deity. Two varieties of Candragupta's silver coins may be distinguished according to their legends.

§ 94. *Copper Coins.* The earliest Gupta copper coins also belong to the reign of Candragupta II. Nine types are distinguished in this catalogue, but the general type is the same on all: obv. the king, rev. Garuḍa standing facing.

On the obverse of Type I we have a bust of the king holding a flower in his r. hand; rev. Garuḍa. The obverse of Type II is that of the Chattra type of the gold coinage, king at altar with attendant holding *chattra* over him. Two varieties are to be distinguished according as the Garuḍa is with or without human arms. Type III has on the obverse a three-quarter length figure of the king and reverse Garuḍa. Type IV has obv. a half-length figure of the king holding a flower in his r. hand, rev. Garuḍa; this type has a legend on the obverse in the exergue. Type V has a similar obverse without legend, while the Garuḍa on the reverse is standing on an altar. Type VII has a bust or head of the king on the obverse and Garuḍa on the reverse. On many specimens of this type the Garuḍa is distinctly holding a snake in his mouth, as he possibly is on some of the preceding types also. Garuḍa's hostility to the nāgas is well known,[2] and the snake represented here is probably the nāga king. Type VIII has the obverse

[1] Cf. above, § 75.

[2] Cf. l. 3 of Skandagupta's Jūnāgaḍh inscription, where his representatives are compared to Garuḍas and his enemies whom they overthrow to serpents.

occupied by the legend *Śrī-Candra-*, while the reverse has the usual Garuḍa with the remainder of the king's name *-guptaḥ*. Type IX forms a distinct class of very small coins. Although these only bear the name *Candra* we can have little hesitation in attributing them, with Vincent Smith,[1] to Candragupta II. The obverse is completely filled by the name *Candra* surmounted by a crescent. The reverse bears a vase of flowers (*kalaśa*); the flowers or leaves hang down the sides of the pot and have been wrongly described as streamers[2]; similar vases are found on many of the seals found at Vaiśālī by Dr. Bloch and illustrated by him in *Arch. Surv. of India Report*, 1903–4, Pl. XL–XLII.

3. Kumāragupta I

§ 95. *Archer Type.* The coins of this type are here divided into seven classes according to their legends instead of as previously[3] into two according to the position of the bowstring—var. α–ϵ correspond to Vincent Smith's Class I, and ζ, η to his Class II. The obverse type shows little or no variation on the different varieties. The king is conventionally represented standing to l., as on the Archer type of Candragupta II, holding a bow in his l. hand and an arrow in his r. hand; there is again a Garuḍa standard on l. On var. α–ϵ the bowstring is inwards, and on ζ and η it is outwards. Var. α–γ have the syllable *Ku* beneath the king's l. arm, the field of var. δ is empty, while var. ϵ is connected with ζ and η by the name *Kumāra* under the l. arm. Var. ϵ and η may have the same obverse legend, in which case they are to be distinguished by the position of the bowstring. It is probable, however, that the legend of the latter is the longer, but no traces of its continuation have survived on the left side of the known coins. The variations in the reverse type are equally trifling; here again we have the goddess Lakṣmī seated facing on a lotus, holding a lotus in her l. hand

[1] *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, pp. 143–4.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 143; *I. M. Cat.*, i, p. 110.
[3] Vincent Smith, *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, pp. 95–8, &c.

and as a rule a fillet in r. On var. *α*, *β*, and *δ* the lotus has a long stalk, and Lakṣmī's l. hand rests on her knee; on *ε*–*η* the stalk is short, and is held uplifted by the goddess; on var. *β* the r. hand is empty, while in the unique specimen of var. *γ* in the Bodleian the goddess holds a lotus-flower in her outstretched r. hand, while her l. rests on her knee as in *α* and *β*, but is empty. Var. *γ* has no symbol, while on var. *β* the usual symbol is replaced by  . Striking resemblance of fabric may be noted between certain coins of this type and of the corresponding type of Candragupta II, e.g. **Pl. VI. 17, 18** and **XII. 11, 12**; **Pl. VII. 8, 9** and **XII. 7**, so that it is probable that several mints were at work.

§ 96. *Swordsman Type.* These handsome coins have no prototype in the reigns of Kumāragupta's predecessors. The attitude of the king on the obverse resembles that of the Archer type, but he is sprinkling incense on an altar with his r. hand, while his l. rests on the hilt of his sword, which hangs from his waist. He wears waistcloth and jewellery only, and the traces of Kushan influence that have survived on the Archer type are not to be found here. There is again a Garuḍa standard on the left, the pedestal on which it stands being clearly represented (**Pl. XII. 18**). The reverse is similar to that of var. *α* of the Archer type.

§ 97. *Aśvamedha Type.* The obverse of this type is very similar to that of Samudragupta's Aśvamedha type, but the horse is standing to l., and is saddled; the reverse is also similar, though much more rudely executed; the queen holds a chowrie over her r. shoulder, and holds an uncertain object in her l. hand—this latter does not appear on Samudragupta's coins. The object on l. may again be identified as a ceremonial spear (cf. § 84).

§ 98. *Horseman Type.* As in the case of Candragupta II's Horseman type, the classification into Horseman to l. and r. has been abandoned here. Six different legends may be distinguished on the coins, and six varieties may thus be distinguished; the coins may be also divided into two main classes by their fabric; Class I contains four varieties (**Pl. XII. 1–10**), and Class II two varieties;

the latter class are coins of finer workmanship with long unusually complete legends; although the king is to r. on var. α and to l. on var. β of Class II the two varieties are closely connected and distinguished from Class I by a strong similarity in fabric, by the bow in the king's hand which appears only in var. δ of Class I, and by the similarity of their legends. Varieties α–γ of Class I are connected by the similarity of their obverse types and by the evolution which may be traced through their reverse types. The obverse type of Class I is the king riding to r.; on var. β he does not wear the flowing sash of var. α and γ. The reverse type offers more variety. On var. α the goddess Lakṣmī is seated to l. on a wicker stool, as on Candragupta II's Horseman type, holding a lotus with long stalk and leaves in her r. hand in front of her, and resting her l. on her hip, possibly holding the stalk of a lotus. This reverse type closely resembles that of Archer type var. γ (*Num. Chron.* 1891, Pl. II. 11) and of var. β of the Lion-slayer type (**Pl. XIV. 6–8**); the reverse type of var. β is that of Candragupta II's Horseman type, Lakṣmī seated l. with fillet in r. hand and lotus behind her in l.; on var. γ her attitude is practically unchanged, but a peacock appears on l., which she is feeding with a bunch of fruit in her r. hand; the latter is not distinctly represented, but is treated like one of the tails of the fillet on the preceding variety. Var. δ (see Addenda, p. 155) presents features characteristic of both classes; on the obverse the kings hold a bow as in Class II, but with string inwards, but the style recalls Class I rather than II; the reverse is that of var. γ of Class I. The obverse type of Class II is similar to that of Class I with the addition of a bow in the king's l. hand; on var. α he is riding to r. and on β to l., so that on the latter the sword at his l. side is represented. The reverse of var. α is similar to that of Class I, var. γ, but the fruit (grapes ?) is very clearly represented; that of var. β more closely resembles Class I, var. η, although some attempt is made to define the fruit; it is distinguished from all other varieties, which have no symbol of any kind, by the presence of ✱ in the place occupied by the symbol.

§ 99. *Lion-slayer Type.* The coins on which Kumāragupta is represented in combat with a lion may be divided into four varieties according to legend. The general type is that of Candragupta's Lion-slayer type, viz. obv. King—here always to r.—wearing waistcloth and jewellery only, shooting a lion with bow held in l., and r. hand drawn back holding string; rev. Lakṣmī-Ambikā seated facing on a lion which is always to r.: minor differences may be noted in the different varieties. In var. *α*—which corresponds to Vincent Smith's Lion-trampler type—the attitude of the king is very energetic, and he is bending slightly to shoot the lion; the reverse of this variety, Lakṣmī seated on lion facing, holding fillet in outstretched r. hand and lotus in l. arm, is of interest because the lotus in her l. arm is treated as if it were a cornucopiae, indeed it can only by courtesy be called a lotus; on this variety the lion's head is either to front or to r. It is probable then that this variety belongs to the northern dominions of Kumāragupta, where it succeeded Candragupta's Lion-slayer Class I, *α* and *β*.

On var. *β* the lion's head is on a level with the king's shoulders, so that he is standing erect; the reverse is distinct from any of the others: the goddess is seated facing reclining on her l. arm and holding a lotus-flower with leaves in her outstretched arm—in style it resembles Archer type, var. *γ*. The obverse of var. *γ* is similar to the preceding, while on the reverse the goddess holds a lotus in her uplifted l. hand and holds fillet in outstretched r. hand as on Archer type, var. *ζ*, *η*. The obverse of var. *δ* is similar to that of the two preceding, but the king's l. arm is held a little lower down; the reverse is the one common on Candragupta's Lion-slayer type: the goddess is seated facing on lion and holds a lotus in her l. hand, which rests on her knee, and has a fillet in her outstretched r. hand; varieties *β*, *γ*, *δ* correspond to Vincent Smith's Combatant Lion type.

§ 100. *Tiger-slayer Type.* The obverse of this type is similar to that of the preceding, but the king is to l. and is shooting a tiger, behind which is a crescent-topped standard. The type closely resembles Samudragupta's Tiger type, and seems to have been

copied from it, as the reappearance of this type of standard and the legend show, although there seems to be no connecting link in the coinage of Candragupta II. The reverse type recalls that of Class II of the Horseman type—the goddess Lakṣmī standing l. in a lotus-flower feeding a peacock with a bunch of fruit in her r. hand and holding the stalk of a lotus-flower which rises behind in her l. hand.

§ 101. *Peacock Type.* This type is new to the series, and seems to have been issued in honour of Kārttikeya, one of whose names is Kumāra. The obverse represents the king standing l. dressed as on the preceding type, feeding a peacock from a bunch of fruit held in his r. hand, and the reverse the god Kārttikeya riding his peacock Paravāṇi (*śikhivāhana*). The peacock on the preceding coins may also be the emblem of Kārttikeya. Two varieties of the reverse may be distinguished according as the god is to l. or facing. Previous writers[1] have described the reverse as a female figure, but there is no reason to suppose it is, while the peacock and the spear which he holds in his l. hand are well-known attributes of Kārttikeya.

§ 102. *Pratāpa Type.* This is the type hitherto known as the 'Two Queens' type. Until a satisfactory explanation of the type is given it seems better to give it the non-committal name of 'Pratāpa' from the reverse legend. In spite of the legend, which has been supposed to label the central figure, the latter can hardly be identified as Kumāragupta as it is utterly unlike any representation of him, nor does it look a regal figure, nor is there any good reason to suppose the other figures are the queens. One of them very closely resembles Minerva, and as the coin appears to be restruck on some foreign coin the whole may be an imitation or adaptation of some non-Indian type; should a specimen with a legible inscription be found some light may be thrown on the type which till then must remain a puzzle.

[1] Vincent Smith, *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 105; *I. M. Cat.*, i, p. 113.

§ 103. *Elephant-rider Type.* This type, known only from the unique specimen in the Indian Museum, is, like the preceding, new to the series; the inscription is illegible, but the style and weight render certain the attribution to Kumāragupta I. The obverse represents the king riding to l. on an elephant, while an attendant seated behind holds a *chattra* over him; on the reverse the goddess Lakṣmī stands facing on a lotus, holding a lotus-flower in her l. arm and grasping stalk of a flower that grows beside her in her r. hand; on r. is an uncertain object like a vase.

§ 104. *Silver Coins.* The great variety in the silver coins of Kumāragupta I forms a striking contrast to the scarcity of his father's silver coinage, and affords further proof that the latter can only have been struck for a brief period before the end of his reign and within a limited area. These coins have hitherto been divided into two main classes—Winged Peacock type and Fantail Peacock type[1]; as has already been pointed out (§ 93), however, in connexion with Candragupta II's silver coins, the bird on the former of these classes is not a peacock, but a Garuḍa, and an examination of the series shows that they may be divided into three well-defined classes.

These coins, then, fall into two great groups according as the reverse type is a Garuḍa or a peacock; it is well established from the evidence of provenance that the first of these belongs to the western provinces and the second to the central provinces of the Gupta empire (the Ganges Valley).

An examination of the first group shows that the coins in it fall into three main classes, each of which may again be subdivided; it can hardly be doubted that these differences of fabric indicate issues of different parts of the western Gupta territories, but, in the absence of detailed analyses of finds, it is impossible to allot them to their respective districts with absolute certainty; their relationship to Candragupta II's coins affords some clue to their chronological and geographical arrangement.

[1] Vincent Smith, *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, pp. 123 ff., &c.

§ 105. *Class I.* This class consists of the coins which from their similarity to Candragupta I's silver coinage must be its immediate successors. The bust on the obverse still bears a striking resemblance to that on the coins of the later Western Kṣatrapas, while traces of *varṣe* and corrupt Greek letters still survive; the reverse type is a well-executed Garuḍa, readily recognizable as such, as on Candragupta's coins, and above it are the seven pellets[1] which appear on these and above the *caitya* on their Kṣatrapa prototypes. The legend is the *Paramabhāgavata* legend of Candragupta II's coins. As very similar coins were struck by Skandagupta it is clear that this class is the issue of one particular district in Western India, most probably Surāṣṭra, where Candragupta II's silver coins must have been struck. Three varieties of this class may be distinguished: var. *α* consists of coins of large thin fabric most closely resembling the coins of Candragupta II, which are probably the earliest issues; var. *β* consists of coins of slightly thicker fabric and is characterized by the use of the rounded forms of the letters 𑀯 and 𑀴 in the inscription, which on the whole is in a more cursive character than usual—this epigraphical feature is probably evidence that these are the issues of some local mint; var. *γ* is similar in fabric to var. *β*, but the epigraphy is that of var. *α*; the Garuḍa on the reverse is treated in a slightly different fashion on each variety, and the development to the form on Class II may be traced through Class I.

§ 106. *Class II.* The coins forming Class II are somewhat smaller and thicker; they bear no trace of Greek letters on the obverse, while the bust is very rudely executed and does not bear the striking resemblance to the Kṣatrapa bust which is a feature of Class I. The Garuḍa is very rudely represented and the cluster of pellets no longer appears; the inscription is in the square-headed alphabet. This class probably belongs to some district in Western India where the coins of the Western Kṣatrapas had not been familiar for

[1] Originally a star; on the degradation cf. Rapson, *C.A. & W.K.*, §§ 92, 144, &c.

centuries. Two varieties may be distinguished, var. *α* which has the legend of Class I, and var. *β* which begins *Bhāgavata* only.

§ 107. *Class III.* In Class III the bust on the obverse is more carefully treated, and there is usually a legend in corrupt Greek letters; the Garuḍa on the reverse is again very crudely treated; it is all neck with practically no body, but the wings are rather more intelligently treated than in Class II. The coins of Class III are all of small thick fabric; as this fabric resembles that of the coins of the Traikūṭaka dynasty it may be suggested that Class III were struck in Southern Gujarat.

Two varieties may be distinguished according as the king has the full title *mahārājadhirāja* (var. *α*) or the shorter *rājādhirāja* (var. *β*). Vincent Smith [1] has suggested that the latter are the earlier issues and may have been struck in the lifetime of Candragupta II, but, as has been shown, they must be later than the earliest issues of Class I, which bear the full title.

§ 108. *Class IV.* Not only was the coinage of silver in the west considerably extended in the reign of Kumāragupta I, but he also introduced a silver coinage for the first time to the central provinces of the Gupta dominions. This class (IV) displays considerable originality of type; it consists, like Class I, of large thin coins; the bust on the obverse, although still bearing a superficial resemblance to the Kṣatrapa prototype, shows great originality of treatment and is probably an attempt at portraiture. The meaningless Greek letters, which tradition still retained on the western issues, now disappear and their place is taken by a date in Brāhmī characters in front of the bust. On the reverse the degraded representation of Garuḍa is discarded in favour of a peacock standing facing with wings and tail outspread; this peacock appears in allusion to Kārttikeya, one of whose names is Kumāra, to whom Kumāragupta seems to have been as devoted as his father was to Viṣṇu; it is to be identified with his vehicle Paravāṇi. The Vaiṣṇava legend also is discarded in favour of the metrical boast of victory also found

[1] *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 125.

on varieties of the gold Archer and Horseman types; the legend is carefully executed with vowel marks, which are never represented on the western issues. These coins have been found in Saharanpur and Buriya, and are commonly obtained in Benares, Ayodhyā, Mathurā.[1]

§ 109. *Trident (?) Type.* In the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. vii (1862), p. 10, Pl. I. 11, Mr. Justice Newton published a silver coin of Kumāragupta I with reverse type, a trident. This type is quite unknown otherwise. There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of Newton's reading of the inscription, so that the coin cannot have been one of those ascribed to the kings of Valabhī: the trident as depicted in the drawing is a much more elaborate one than that on the latter coins. When it is remembered how common the various types of Kumāragupta's silver coinage are it is remarkable that only one specimen of this should have survived. We are inclined to believe that the type does not exist; the reverse type of this specimen was probably a Garuḍa bird which in Classes II, III does bear some resemblance to a trident, a resemblance which was probably considerably accentuated by the draughtsman who drew the figure for Newton's plate.

§ 110. *Class V.* The existence of a large series of silver-plated coins of Kumāragupta I with a copper core offers an interesting problem which has been fully discussed by Vincent Smith,[2] whose conclusion (p. 142), that they 'are a debased issue of the silver coinage probably struck during a period of financial pressure', seems to us the only satisfactory explanation of these pieces. While plated coins of other rulers and issues[3] are known, they are comparatively rare and may be ancient forgeries, though sometimes their good workmanship suggests that, as was the Roman custom, they may

[1] Vincent Smith in *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 127, quoting Cunningham.

[2] *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, pp. 137 ff.

[3] Cf. the Archer coins of Candragupta II mentioned by Vincent Smith, *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 144, and another in Mr. J. Stephens Blackett's collection; and the silver coin of Kumāragupta I in this catalogue, no. 402.

have been issued by the mint authorities to pay expenses. These coins have only been found—although in large numbers—around the site of the ancient Valabhī, and their issue was presumably limited to this district. A distinction has been made between a bona fide copper coinage of this type and a similar silver-plated coinage; we believe, however, that all the coins were originally silver-plated—perhaps merely washed with silver—and intended to pass as silver, in spite of the numbers that now bear no trace of silver.[1]

§ 111. *Copper Coins.* The only copper coin that can with absolute certainty be ascribed to Kumāragupta I is in the Bodleian Library (*Num. Chron.*, 1891, Pl. II. 15), and is described on p. 113 (Type I) of this catalogue; on the obverse the king is standing l. apparently throwing incense on an altar; the reverse is that of Candragupta II's copper coins—Garuḍa standing facing with outspread wings with the legend *Kumāraguptaḥ* below.

The two coins in the Indian Museum and in St. Petersburg, here ascribed to Kumāragupta I (p. 113, Type II, **Pl. XVIII. 25, 26**), have previously[2] been attributed to Kumāragupta II. The obverse type is not a Garuḍa, as Vincent Smith (*loc. cit.*) suggests, but an altar such as is found on one type of Skandagupta's silver coins, while the object on which the goddess on the reverse is seated is a lion rather, than a couch. Though these coins are of ruder workmanship than Type I they can hardly be as late as Kumāragupta II, particularly as copper coins do not seem to exist of intermediate reigns. The cornucopiae or lotus treated like a cornucopiae (as in Lion-slayer type, var. *a*) can hardly be much later than Kumāragupta I, to whose reign we prefer to ascribe these coins; they are probably northern issues. If the third known specimen[3] was actually found with the Hūṇa coins with which it is published, it may be that these are not Gupta coins, but Hūṇa; cf. the contraction *Śrī To* on coins of Toramāṇa.

[1] Cf. the Roman coins of the second half of the third century A.D.

[2] *I. M. Cat.*, p. 120, no. 3, Pl. XVII. 9.

[3] *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, p. 96.

4. Skandagupta.

§ 112. The gold coins of this reign do not present the variety of types found in the preceding reigns. Only two, or probably three, types are found in the gold coinage, and of these only one can be called common, and that in comparison with other coins of the reign rather than with coins of preceding reigns.

Archer Type. The majority of the gold coins of this reign belong to this type; it does not differ from the Archer Type of the preceding reign. The king is represented, as usual, standing to left holding a bow in his l. hand and arrow in r., while a *garuḍadhvaja* stands on his right; the reverse type has likewise become quite conventional, and represents the goddess Lakṣmī seated facing on a lotus, holding a fillet in her outstretched hand and a lotus flower in her l. hand, which rests on her knee: no deviations are found from this type, which was to remain stereotyped till the end of the dynasty. It may be noted that the traditional dress of Kushan style is still worn by the king on the obverse, although it has been long abandoned on other types. The Archer coins of Skandagupta may, however, be divided into two very distinct classes, distinguished by weight, obverse and reverse legends. The coins of this type, struck on a standard of about 132 grains, are, perhaps, the earlier, as they are most closely connected in weight with Kumāragupta's gold coins; the second class consists of coins struck on a standard of 144·6 grains of baser metal; these probably belong to a later period of the reign, but as a few coins of pure metal are known of the later reigns, and as the majority of the coins of these reigns are of this baser metal and came from the Kālighāt hoard, it is most probable that the latter class belong to the most eastern Gupta dominions. Class I is further distinguished by obverse legend from Class II, and while the former has the reverse legend *Śrī-Skandaguptaḥ*, the latter bears his title *Kramādityaḥ*.

§ 113. *King and Lakṣmī Type.* Skandagupta's second type is of more interest than his Archer type, with Class I of which

it is closely connected. A superficial resemblance to the Candragupta I type of Samudragupta has caused it to be given the name 'King and Queen' type.[1] The king is represented standing on l. to r. holding his bow by the middle at his left knee, while his right hand rests on his side and holds an arrow; he wears waist-cloth and jewellery only, as has long been usual on types in which tradition does not retain the Kushan dress, as it does in the Archer type of this reign, nor is he nimbate; in front of him is a Garuḍa standard. On the right stands a female figure, who has hitherto been identified as Skandagupta's queen, but an examination of the specimens now available of this type shows that she holds a lotus flower in her l. hand which grows up behind her; in her r. hand she holds an uncertain object, which may best be compared with the degraded form of the fillet held by Lakṣmī in Class I, var. *β* of Kumāragupta's Horseman type. We need have no hesitation, then, in identifying the lady as the goddess Lakṣmī, as her attributes show. She closely resembles the representation on the reverse of certain of Candragupta II's *Chattra* type, e. g. **Pl. VIII. 7.** We know no reason why Skandagupta's queen should appear on his coinage; the chief queen naturally appears on the Aśvamedha types of preceding reigns on account of the prominent part she played in the sacrifice, and is readily recognizable as such on these types by the regal chowrie, while Skandagupta's companion holds the lotus, the emblem of Lakṣmī. Kumāradevī is likewise readily recognizable as a mortal on the coins issued by her son in memory of her marriage. The inscriptions of Skandagupta repeatedly emphasizes the fact that he had been particularly favoured by the goddess of fortune, e. g. in l. 5 of his Jūnāgaḍh inscription, Lakṣmī is said to have 'selected him for a husband, discarding all other sons of kings'. Such ideas are, of course, common to Indian panegyrics, but it cannot be doubted that Skandagupta attributed his restoration of the broken fortunes of his dynasty to the direct intervention of Lakṣmī, and that the type is an allusion to this.

[1] Vincent Smith, *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 110; *J.A.S.B.*, 1894, p. 169; *I. M. Cat.*, i, p. 117.

The reverse type is the conventional seated Lakṣmī, and calls for no remark. This type has the same obverse and reverse legends as Class I of the Archer type, and is further known only of the same standard, which perhaps strengthens the suggestion that Class II belongs to a different area of Skandagupta's dominions.

§ 114. *Horseman Type.* The unique coin of the Horseman type in the Bodleian collection which has hitherto been ascribed to Candragupta II[1] cannot, as its weight (140·5 grains) shows, belong to so early a reign; in style it closely resembles the Horseman coins of Kumāragupta I, but its weight suggests attribution to Skandagupta; the reverse legend Kramājitaḥ (cf. Kramādityaḥ) also suggests Skandagupta.

§ 115. *Silver Coins.* A detailed knowledge of the find-spots and contents of hoards containing Skandagupta's silver coins would be of considerable value in determining the limits of his empire at different periods of his reign; as such information is not available it is only possible vaguely to indicate what the evidence of the coins suggests. The silver coins of his reign, like that of the preceding, fall naturally into two great classes, all of which have the king's bust on the obverse, issued in the western and central provinces of the empire respectfully. The former class, although not so extensive as in the preceding reign, presents three different reverse types: viz. Garuḍa, bull (Nandi), and altar.

§ 116. The first class of these with the Garuḍa reverse, usual in the preceding reigns, consists of large flat coins corresponding exactly in fabric to Candragupta II's silver coins and Class I, var. *α* of Kumāragupta I. The scarcity of coins of this type, in comparison with the preceding reign, is evidence that Skandagupta did not retain the territories to which they belong throughout his reign, while the absence of the varieties of fabric, which characterize Kumāragupta's Garuḍa reverse issues, suggests that some at

[1] *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 86; *Num. Chron.*, 1891, p. 62, Pl. II. 6.

least of the districts to which these belong were never held by Skandagupta, or at least that he did not hold them long enough to strike coins there; this question is complicated, however, by the existence of types unrepresented in the preceding reign, and the evidence from fabric or provenance is not sufficient to enable us to judge how far these supplant varieties of Kumāragupta's Garuḍa type, which are not otherwise represented. When we remember how conservative Indian coin-types are, it may fairly be presumed that the absence of varieties of fabric represented in the preceding reign is evidence that Skandagupta did not hold the lands in which they were struck.

§ 117. *Bull Type.* The first new type consists of a small series of coins of very base metal having the usual bust on the obverse, but without traces of the Greek legend; the reverse type is a bull, presumably Śiva's bull Nandi, couchant to r. It has been suggested that these coins are to be attributed to Valabhī because the bull is the badge of the later senapatis of Valabhī; although this is not conclusive evidence in itself it seems to be corroborated by evidence of provenance. Three of the six specimens in the British Museum were presented by the Watson Museum, Rajkot, and were presumably found in Kathiawar, while the type seems to be imitated by Kṛṣṇarāja, whose coins come from the Nasik district. We have, therefore, sufficient evidence to assume that this type belongs to the lands around the Gulf of Cambay. The rude treatment of the bust on the obverse recalls that of Class V of Kumāragupta I, which also belongs to Kathiawar.

§ 118. *Altar Type.* The commonest silver coins of Skandagupta also belong to a new type; they are mis-shapen coins of rude fabric, bearing the usual western bust with traces of a degraded Greek inscription on the obverse and an altar on the reverse; the altar[1] seems to be represented with a fire burning on it. This extensive series may be divided into three classes according as they

[1] It is impossible to say that it is not a receptacle for the *tulsī* plant.

bear the title *Vikramāditya* (Class I), *Kramāditya* (Class II), or no *āditya* title (Class III). Class II may be divided into three varieties by fabric: var. *α* of this class is of neater workmanship than the other coins of this type; var. *β* resembles Class I in fabric, and contains the majority of the specimens of this type, while var. *γ* is of much ruder fabric than the others and has fragmentary legends.

§ 119. *Central Provinces.* Skandagupta continued unaltered the silver coinage instituted in the home territories by his father; the legend is similar to that of Kumāragupta's coins, and the coins may be divided into two classes, according to two varieties of the legend, while two varieties of fabric may be noted in the second class; the same difference in the busts of the western and central coinages may again be noted in this reign.

5. Puragupta.

§ 120. We are now able to attribute coins to Puragupta with certainty; they are all of the Archer type, and closely resemble in style Skandagupta's heavier issues. The specimen illustrated on **Pl. XXI. 24** has been in the British Museum since 1893 as a coin of Candragupta II, an attribution based on the reverse legend *Śrī-Vikramaḥ*; the second specimen (**Pl. XXI. 25**) was recently acquired. The weights of these specimens (142·7 and 141·4 grains respectively) rendered their attribution to Candragupta II improbable, and the evidence of style suggested Skandagupta; the question whether these coins[1] and a third in Mr. Burn's collection were to be attributed to Skandagupta or, as we suspected, to Puragupta was settled when we found in Dr. Hoey's collection a similar coin with the reverse legend *Śrī-Vikramaḥ*, and the name *Pura* beneath the l. arm (**Pl. XXI. 23**). The coins may therefore be divided into two varieties according as they bear the name or not. Like Skandagupta's heavier coinage, they have no isolated letters between the king's feet.

[1] *I. M. Cat.*, i, p. 107, nos. 33 and 34, must now also be ascribed to Puragupta.

6. Prakāśāditya.

§ 121. The coins of Prakāśāditya are remarkable in that they present a new type; the Horseman type and the Lion-slayer had both been very popular in the reigns of Candragupta II and Kumāragupta I, but here we have for the first time a combination of these types. Prakāśāditya, as he must be called till his proper name is known, is represented seated on horseback to r. cleaving with his sword a lion which is springing at him; around his body hangs a bow, while there is a Garuḍa standard behind the horse's head. This standard is as a rule very rudely represented: it is recognizable on **Pl. XXII. 1–3**, while on **Pl. XXII. 5** it is represented by three pellets. The reverse type is the now usual Lakṣmī seated facing on a lotus, holding a fillet in her r. hand and a lotus in her l. hand which rests on her knee. The symbol  which is found on all the known specimens is not found on other coins of the series. The style of the obverse affords little clue to the date, as we have nothing with which to compare it: that of the reverse, however, notably the way in which the two legs of the goddess are run together to form a single horizontal pillow-like object, is, as a comparison with the coins of Narasiṁhagupta shows, characteristic of the period about the end of the fifth century, to which evidence of the Bharsar hoard suggests the assignation of these pieces (§§ 58, 59), and not of the time of Viṣṇugupta as the  in the field might suggest. It is remarkable that no coins should be known of Prakāśāditya of the Archer type, which is the only one used by the rulers of this and later periods: when specimens of the latter are found, we shall be able to know his proper name.

7. Narasiṁhagupta and his Successors.

§ 122. The coins of the successors of Skandagupta and Puragupta are, with the exception of those of Prakāśāditya, of the Archer type, which may be traced back through Samudragupta's Archer

and Standard types to the coins of Kaniṣka and Kadphises. The king is represented standing to l. holding a bow in his l. hand and an arrow in his r., with a Garuḍa standard on l.; the reverse is the usual Lakṣmī seated facing, holding a fillet and lotus. Two varieties may be distinguished in the coins of Narasiṁhagupta and Kumāragupta II; a small Class I of good gold with traces of a marginal legend and of a style fairly good for the period, and a Class II of very rude workmanship and base metal, some of which seem never to have had a marginal legend; cf. **Pl. XXII. 7** and **8** with **10–12**, and **13–14** with **15**. These two classes are probably the issues of different districts, and the fact that the majority of the latter came from the Kālighāt hoard suggests that they belong to the lower Ganges valley. The coins of Viṣṇugupta seem to be known of Class II only; their attribution has already been discussed in § 67. As to the coins of Candragupta III we have nothing to add to what has been said in § 60; we would only point out that a comparison of **Pl. XXIII. 6–8** with **1–5** will show that they cannot be later than the coins of Kumāragupta II, and that this is clear evidence of a line contemporary to that from the Bhitarī seal; the coin of Ghaṭotkacagupta has already been discussed in § 61: its style, notably the treatment of the legs of the goddess on the reverse, suggests that it is contemporary with Kumāragupta II (cf. **Pl. XXIV. 3** with **Pl. XXII. 13** or **14**).

§ 123. The base gold coins which bear the name *Jaya* cannot be earlier than the end of the sixth century; it would be not unnatural to assume that Jaya(gupta) was the successor of Viṣṇugupta, but the coins are clearly much later in date; the reverse type in style and subject, the *abhiṣeka* of Lakṣmī, connects them closely with the coins of Śaśāṅka, but we must await further discoveries before we know the relations of these two and their connexion, if any, with the later Guptas. The copper coin with the name which has been usually read (Ja)yagu(pta) (**Pl. XXIV. 4**) is not connected with the preceding, as it has a much earlier form of *ya* ( and ); it is very possible that the legend really is only *yagu*, and that it

is a Hūṇa coin, as its general style suggests, but the Garuḍa suggests the Guptas. The coin of Harigupta (?) (**Pl. XXIV. 16**) seems to belong to the fifth century from its epigraphy. The coins (**Pl. XXIV. 11–12**) which bear the name Vīrasena are probably the latest coins we have yet discussed, and cannot be before the seventh century; nothing is known of their attribution.

8. Guptas of Eastern Mālwa.

§ 124. The coins of Budhagupta are known in silver only; they imitate the types of Skandagupta's silver central coinage. On the obverse they have the conventional portrait with the date in front, while the reverse is the peacock with wings and tail outspread, which had been first adopted by Kumāragupta I.

9. Śaśāṅka.

§ 125. The coins of Śaśāṅka present an obverse type new to the series. Śiva is represented reclining on his bull Nandi; behind him is the disc of the full moon, an allusion to Śaśāṅka, which recalls the allusion to this monarch by Bāṇa in the words *Śaśāṅka-maṇḍalam* (see p. lxiii). The reverse type is similar to the traditional seated Lakṣmī of the Guptas; the hands of the goddess, however, are empty, and on her r. and l. are elephants sprinkling her (*abhiṣeka*); that on her r. is clearly represented, while that on her l. may be seen in **Pl. XXIII. 14–15**; this type is also found on Jayagupta's coins, but only the elephant on the r. of the goddess is there represented, the place of the other being occupied by the *Śrī-* of the long legend; it is clear from the resemblance of the reverses that the coins of Śaśāṅka and Jayagupta are closely connected. The coin no. 612 (**Pl. XXIV. 2**) presents several notable features; the types are practically those of the other coins of Śaśāṅka, but the goddess holds a lotus flower in her r. hand and another over her l. shoulder; there are no elephants, and the style is peculiar; the careful execution of the legend shows that it is a contemporary coin of Śaśāṅka. The weight, however, is only 85 grains, not

much over half that of the others, but this seems to be amply compensated by the purity of the metal; the weight and the border of large dots connect it with the coins discussed below (§ 127), and it is evidently to be attributed to the north-eastern part of Śaśāṅka's dominions.

§ 126. We should like to be able to attribute to Śaśāṅka the Indian Museum coin found at Jessore[1] with one of his coins, illustrated here in **Pl. XXIV. 5**, but it is impossible to do so with certainty in the present state of our knowledge. The type is quite a new one, though a familiar scene in sculpture; the king is represented seated on a couch, attended by two queens or female attendants (*rājalīlā*). The reverse likewise is new; the goddess Lakṣmī is standing to l. in a lotus plant surrounded by the flowers which spring up from it; in front of her is a *haṁsa*. The coin on **Pl. XXIV. 4**, also in the Indian Museum, likewise bears the name Narendrāditya, but a comparison of the reverse type with that of **Pl. XXIV. 1** suggests that it must be earlier than Śaśāṅka. It is very probable, then, that we have to identify two Narendrādityas. Another ruler who is to be connected with Śaśāṅka, Jayagupta, and the Narendrāditya of **Pl. XXIV. 5**, is the Dharmāditya of the Farīdpur inscriptions. No coins are known of him, but the provenance of his inscriptions, the epigraphy of which (notably  for Śaśāṅka's ) places him somewhat earlier than Śaśāṅka, like that of the *rājalīlā* coin of Narendrāditya, shows that he is to be located in the territory known to have been ruled by Śaśāṅka.[2]

Late Imitations of Gupta Coins.

§ 127. There is no reason to doubt that the three barbarous pieces illustrated in **Pl. XXIV. 17–19** are ancient coins. The

[1] *J.A.S.B.*, 1852, Pl. XII. 11.

[2] Pargiter, in his discussion of these grants in *I.A.*, 1910, pp. 193 ff., seems (p. 208) to accept Hoernle's identification of Dharmāditya with Yaśodharman (*J.R.A.S.*, 1909, p. 136, note 1). We cannot accept this; we have no reason to believe that Yaśodharman's sway stretched so far to the east, nor do we know that he bore the title Dharmāditya.

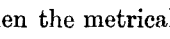
obverses are copied from the usual Gupta Archer type, but the standard has a horse's head instead of Garuḍa; there is a horse behind the king on one variety, which also has an inscription *Śrī*. The reverse type is a goddess standing to r.; she appears to wear a robe that flows behind her, but this may be an exaggeration of the fillet held by the seated Lakṣmī; in front of her is what looks like a legend, but can only be a barbarous copy of the Gupta legend. There seems to be no exact prototype for this reverse in the Gupta coinage. These coins are connected by weight and by the border of large dots with the coin of Śaśāṅka illustrated on **Pl. XXIV. 2**, and must be dated about the middle of the seventh century A. D. One of these pieces is illustrated by Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, Pl. XVIII. 20; another is illustrated in the *J.A.S.B.*, 1852, Pl. XII. 10, p. 401, and was found at Muhammadpur, in Jessore, with the coins of Narendrāditya and Śaśāṅka already mentioned (§ 126). Two specimens were recently published by H. E. Stapleton in the *J.A.S.B.*, 1910, pp. 142–3, Pl. XXII. 1 and 2, one of each variety; of these one was found near the Pīl-Khāna about a mile from Dacca, and the second came from Kotwālipāṛā. Three similar coins were afterwards procured in Kotwālipāṛā, one of which is believed to have been found with a coin of Skandagupta.[1] We have, therefore, considerable evidence that these are actual coins which circulated in Eastern Bengal, probably about the seventh century A. D.

IV. LEGENDS.

1. Samudragupta.

§ 128. The great majority of the obverse legends of the coins of the Guptas have not been hitherto satisfactorily explained. As a rule each specimen only contains a few words of the legend, and

[1] Stapleton, *loc. cit.*, p. 143, note 1.

it is rare to find legible vowel marks; while a number of legends must await decipherment until further specimens are available, the majority can now be read with certainty. The most important aid to their interpretation is the recognition of the fact that, like the distichs on many of the coins of the Mughal emperors, the legends on the Gupta coins are metrical. We are thus enabled to restore lost vowels with certainty and to supply missing elements from the analogy of similar legends on other coins. Various metres are employed, the most common being the Upagīti variety of the Āryā. When the metrical nature of the legends is recognized, it is clear that the *akṣaras*  , which occur in almost every legend, must be read *divaṁ jayati* and not, as hitherto, *devo jayati*;  is actually found on a coin of Samudragupta (**Pl. I. 14**), and on certain silver coins of Kumāragupta I (**Pl. XIII. 9** and **13**) of his Central issues, and on the majority of the latter the  can be clearly read. The substance of the legends is therefore 'The king having conquered the earth, conquers or attains to heaven (by sacrifice, &c.)', and they express the well-known Indian idea that by the merit acquired by sacrifice one may become equal to the gods or become an Indra and attain to heaven.[1] The means by which heaven is attained are sometimes specifically expressed by such phrases as *karmabhir uttamaiḥ*, or *sucaritaiḥ*.

§ 129. *Standard Type.* The full obverse legend is

Samaraśatavitatavijayo jitaripur ajito divaṁ jayati.

'The unconquered one, whose victories extend over a century of battles, having conquered his enemies, wins heaven.'

The metre is Upagīti; the reading *jitāripuro 'jito devo* suggested

[1] Cf. *Śatapatha-Brahmāṇa* (transl. Eggeling), I. 6. 1, 10-20, where the world of heaven is said to be the reward of the sacrificer, *ibid.*, I, 9, 1, 16; II, 6, 4, 8; XII 5, 7, 8, &c., &c.

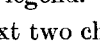
by Rapson[1] and adopted by Vincent Smith,[2] is therefore to be rejected on metrical grounds in favour of the above.

§ 130. *Archer Type.* There are two distinct obverse legends on the coins of this type. That on var. *a* is

Apratiratho vijitya kṣitiṁ sucaritair divaṁ jayati.

'Having conquered the earth, the invincible one wins heaven by good deeds.'

Sucaritaiḥ probably, like the *karmabhir uttamair* of the Kāca type, refers to sacrifices; as this type appears earlier than the Aśvamedha type and shows distinct varieties of fabric, it is difficult to refer *sucaritaiḥ* to the Aśvamedha sacrifice.

Var. *β* has a slightly different legend. It begins similarly with *Apratiratho vijitya kṣiti*; the next two characters on Pl. IV. 6 are clearly *ma va*; the first character on the left is probably  , and there is space for two or three more *akṣaras* before the  , the last of which must be  . *Avanipatir* has been suggested (p. 7) as the word required to complete an Upagīti line, but this is no longer correct.

A coin recently acquired by Mr. W. E. M. Campbell, I.C.S., clearly shows that there are only two *akṣaras* before the , of which the first is distinctly *n*(-) as suggested: the next is clearly  (*ś*); the word therefore is *avanīśo*, a synonym of *avanipatiḥ*, and the legend should be

Apratiratho vijitya kṣitiṁ avanīśo divaṁ jayati.

'The invincible one, having conquered the earth, wins heaven, (being already) the lord of earth.'

The epithet *apratirathaḥ*, 'matchless, unrivalled, invincible', which is also found on the reverse, was a favourite one with Samudragupta; it occurs in the Allahabad inscription, while the synonymous *aprativāryavīryaḥ* is found in the Eraṇ inscription.

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[1] *Num. Chron.*, 1891, p. 60.

[2] *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 101.

§ 131. *Battle-axe Type.* The legend of this type differs from those of the preceding in metre and in being simply a boast of victory without any allusion to the attainment of heaven. The complete legend, which is not found on any single coin, is

Kṛtāntaparaśur jayaty-ajitarājajetā(=ā+a)jitaḥ.

'Wielding the axe of Kṛtānta, the unconquered conqueror of unconquered kings, is victorious.'

The metre is Pṛthvī. *Kṛtāntaparaśuḥ,* which is also found on the reverse, is another epithet regularly applied to Samudragupta in the inscriptions of his successors, though not found in his own; in his Allahabad inscription, however, as in those of his successors also, he is described as equal to Antaka, which is a synonymous name of Yama, the god of Death.

§ 132. *Kāca Type.* The similarity of the obverse legend to that of the Archer type forms one of the strongest proofs of the dentity of Kāca with Samudragupta. The 'highest works' are sacrifices, and may be referred to the Aśvamedha sacrifice with more probability than the *sucaritāni* of the Archer type. The full legend is

Kāco gām avajitya divaṁ karmabhir uttamair jayati.

'Kāca having conquered the earth, wins heaven by the highest works.'

The metre is again Upagīti, though somewhat halting; the true form of the name is therefore Kāca, and the form Kaca which is found in the field on some coins is simply an engraver's error. The ꣿ of *divaṁ,* which metre and sense require, is visible on **Pl. II. 9** and **11**, but no specimen gives the ꣿ. The reverse legend *Sarvarājocchettā,* 'exterminator of all the rājas,' is regularly applied to Samudragupta, and to him alone, in the inscriptions of his successors; it is not found in the extant portions of either of his two known inscriptions, but similar expressions are found in them.[1]

[1] e.g. Allahabad inscription, ll. 21–2.

§ 133. *Aśvamedha Type.* The obverse legend is one of the most difficult to read as only fragments of it have survived; there seem to be two varieties of it. It certainly begins *rājādhirāja*[*ḥ*] *pṛth(i)v(ī)*, the next two *akṣaras* are probably  , and the third is  . These three may be read *mavitvā* to complete an Indravajra line; *Divaṁ jayatyapr* is distinct as the beginning of the Upendravajra line which we would expect to make an Upajāti couplet; the remainder is not to be read on any known specimen, but it may be suggested that the last word is *aprativāryavīryaḥ*, a known epithet of Samudragupta. We thus get

Rājādhirājaḥ pṛthivīm avitvā
Divaṁ jayaty-aprativāryavīryaḥ.

'The king of kings, of irresistible prowess, having protected the earth, wins heaven.'

On a specimen in the Bodleian Library and another in Dr. Hoey's collection  is distinct in place of  , the preceding *akṣara* is indistinct, but the latter half of the line may be safely read *pṛthivīṁ vijitya* in place of *pṛthivīm avitvā*.[1] The epithet *Aśvamedhaparākramaḥ* probably means '(he whose) prowess (has been established by the) Aśvamedha sacrifice'.

§ 134. *Lyrist Type.* The obverse legend gives the emperor's full title only:

Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Samudraguptaḥ.

On one specimen (**Pl. V. 4**) it begins with *Rājādhirāja* only. The reverse legend is simply the name *Samudraguptaḥ* (see p. lxxvi).

§ 135. *Tiger Type.* The obverse legend is quite brief. *Vyāghraparākramaḥ* = He who has the prowess of a tiger. The reverse on two of the known specimens is *Rājā-Samudraguptaḥ*. There seems no reason to lay emphasis on the simple title *rāja*.[2] On var. *β*, **Pl. II. 15**, unfortunately much worn, the reverse legend seems to be *Vyāghraparākramaḥ*.

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[1] A coin from the recently discovered Ballia hoard, of which Mr. Campbell has sent me a cast, seems to have a different ending.

[2] *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 65.

§ 136. The only orthographical peculiarities in the coin legends of Samudragupta are the doubling of *k* before *r* on nos. 10–13 and of *j* after *r* on no. 46 (*uttamair jjayati*).

2. Candragupta II.

§ 137. *Archer Type.* The legend on this type gives the emperor's title in place of the usual metrical legend. It is

Deva-Śrī-Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Candraguptaḥ.

§ 138. *Couch Type.* A similar legend in the genitive is found on the B. M. specimen (no. 102, **Pl. VI. 8**) of this type, viz.:

Deva-Śrī-Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Candraguptasya.

The Indian Museum specimen (p. 34, Pl. VI. 9) adds the title *Vikramādityasya* to the preceding legend and the words *rūpākṛtī* in the field below the couch; this compound probably governs the genitive of the marginal legend, and is therefore presumably to be understood on the B. M. specimen. As the *ī* of *rūpākṛtī* is distinctly long, the phrase must be a *dvandva* compound, celebrating the intellectual and physical perfections of Candragupta II. The reverse legend on this and the preceding type is *Śrī-Vikramaḥ*, a name of Candragupta II.

§ 139. *Chattra Type.* The coins of this type may be divided into two classes according to their obverse legend. That of the first class is the simple title

Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Candraguptaḥ.

The legend of the second class is metrical, and recalls that of the Archer type of Samudragupta:

Kṣitim avajitya sucaritair divaṁ jayati Vikramādityaḥ.

'Vikramāditya, having conquered the earth, wins heaven by good works.'

The metre is again Upagīti: although *divaṁ* is not found among the fragments that survive on the known coins, the analogy of similar inscriptions leaves no doubt that it is to be supplied to

complete the line. Vincent Smith's reading *sucarati*[1] must be rejected on metrical grounds for *sucaritaiḥ*.

§ 140. *Lion-slayer Type.* Three distinct legends may be distinguished on the coins; the commonest, which is found on Classes I and IV is a Vaṁśasthavila[2] couplet:

Narendracandra[ḥ][3] *prathita[śriyā] divaṁ*
Jayaty-ajeyo bhuvi siṁhavikramaḥ.

'The moon among kings, brave as a lion, whose fame is far-spread, invincible on earth, conquers heaven.'

Narendracandra and *siṁhavikramaḥ* are found on most specimens; the second line is complete on **Pl. VIII. 14** and **IX. 7**, while the latter and **VIII. 17** give *divaṁ*.  , which is certainly *pra* and not *pṛ*, is found on a number of specimens, and **Pl. VIII. 17** and **IX. 4** and **13** show  , which must be *prathita*.[4] Two *akṣaras* are still required to complete the couplet; *śriyā*, which has been suggested above, is metrically satisfactory, and probably gives the sense[5]; on **Pl. IX. 13**, however, which is the only coin on which a trace of the ninth *akṣara* has survived, it seems to be  *r*(-) or  *k*(-), while the next letter would seem to be closed at the bottom like  ,  , .

Class II has certainly a distinct legend, but it cannot be read with certainty from the only known specimen of this class. Beginning at the top on r. we have [—]*ndrasiṁha-Candragupta*, which suggests *Narendrasiṁha-Candraguptaḥ*—the first character is, however, possibly *nda* and not *ndra*, and it is not absolutely certain that the next three are *siṁha*; the first character on the left is *pṛ*, which is followed by an indistinct character; there is a break in the legend till we have two characters above the king's head, which

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[1] *I.M.C.*, i, p. 109, no. 55.

[2] ⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –.

[3] Cf. the epithet *kṣitipatiśaśin* applied to Iśānavarmān in Adityasena's Aphsad inscription, Fleet, *C.I.I.*, iii, no. 42.

[4] *thi* seems to be legible on Pl. **IX. 13**.

[5] Cf. such expressions as *pṛthuyaśā, pṛthuśrīḥ*.

seem to be ; this portion suggests *pṛthivīṁ jitvā divaṁ jayati*. When the reading of the first three characters is certain the legend will probably be found to be an Upagīti line.

The legend in Class III calls for no remark. It is that of the Archer type, but on var. *a* the initial *Deva* is absent.

§ 141. *Horseman Type.* The legend on this type is not metrical; it gives the emperor's title with the addition of the Vaiṣnava epithet so affected by him in his inscriptions, viz.:

Paramabhāgavata-mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Candraguptaḥ.

The legend is usually in one long compound, but the uncompounded form (*-bhāgavato*) is also found (**Pl. IX. 10**). The reverse legend is *Ajitavikramaḥ* = He whose prowess is unsurpassed.

§ 142. *Silver Coins.* The legend on var. *a* is similar to that of the Horseman type with the addition of *Vikramādityaḥ*, the whole forming one long compound:

Paramabhāgavata-mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Candragupta-Vikramādityaḥ.

A slightly different legend is found on the rarer var. *β*, viz.:

Śrī-Guptakulasya mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Candragupta-Vikramāṅkasya.

'Of the mahārājādhirāja, the illustrious Candragupta Vikramāṅka, of the illustrious lineage of the Guptas.'

The genitive in this variety of the legend is probably due to the influence of the custom of the Western Kṣatrapas; the epithet *Vikramāṅka* has not been found elsewhere applied to Candragupta II; cf. *parākramāṅka* applied to Samudragupta (Allahabad inscr., l. 17).

§ 143. *Copper Coins.* The legends on these coins call for no remark. They bear the king's names *Candraguptaḥ* or *Vikramādityaḥ*, usually with the honorific *Śrī*. Types I–III have the title *Mahārāja* also.

§ 144. The only orthographical peculiarities to be noted on the coins of Candragupta II are the doubling of *k* before *r* (*vikkrama* is almost as common as *vikrama*) and the use of anusvāra in place of the guttural *ṅ* before *h*, which perhaps occurs in Class II of the Lion-slayer type.

3. Kumāragupta I.

§ 145. *Archer Type.* Seven different legends are to be distinguished on the coins of this type. The legend on var. *α* is not complete on any specimen, nor is the whole legend given by all the known specimens. The beginning *Vijitāvanir avanipati*[*ḥ*] on **Pl. XII. 1** suggests that the whole legend is the Upagīti line found on Class IV of the silver coinage:

Vijitāvanir avanipatiḥ Kumāragupto divaṁ jayati.

'Kumāragupta, lord of the world, having conquered the earth, wins heaven.'

Var. *β* and *γ*. The legends on these two types are not completely given on the few known specimens. They both begin *Jayati mahītalam* and include the name Kumāragupta, but are evidently different in other details, as var. *β* ends in the king's name, while there are uncertain characters after it on the unique specimen of var. *γ*.

Var. *δ*. This variety has the simple title *Paramarājādhirāja-Śrī-Kumāraguptaḥ*. The form *Paramarāja-* for the usual *Mahārājā-* is new.

Var. *ε* has the more usual title *Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Kumāraguptaḥ*. In contrast to var. *η* this is clearly the complete inscription.

Var. *ζ* is very doubtful.

Guṇeśo mahītalaṁ jayati Kumāra(*guptaḥ* or *-o*)

may be suggested for the portion that survives.

Var. *η*. The legend on this variety is incomplete on the few

known specimens. It begins *Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Kumāraguptaḥ* (or *-o*), but as this is contained on the right side only, the inscription must have been longer than on var. ϵ, but no trace of the left half has survived.

The reverse legend on all varieties is *Śrī-Mahendraḥ*, a name of Kumāragupta.

§ 146. *Swordsman Type.* The inscription on this type can now be read with certainty. It is an Upagīti line resembling the legend on the Chattra type of Candragupta II and the Archer type of Samudragupta, viz.:

Gām avajitya sucaritaiḥ Kumāragupto divaṁ jayati.

'Kumāragupta, having conquered the earth, wins heaven by good deeds.'

The readings *sucarati* and *devo* (*I. M. Cat.*, i, p. 111) can now be rejected on metrical grounds.

§ 147. *Aśvamedha Type.* Only fragments of the inscription remain on the two coins of this type that are known to-day. The Museum specimen (**Pl. XII. 13**) has a few characters above on l., which may be *Jayati divaṁ Kumāra-*, and the three characters between the horse's feet on Mr. Campbell's specimen suggest *(a)śvamedha-*. The reverse legend *Śrī-Aśvamedhamahendraḥ* is modelled on that of Samudragupta's Aśvamedha type (cf. pp. xliii and cxi).

§ 148. *Horseman Type.* Class I. Four varieties of this class are distinguished according to the legend. Only the beginning *Pṛthivītalam* and the end *jayaty-ajitaḥ*, before which *divaṁ* may be restored, have survived on the known specimens of var. *α*. This suggests an Upagīti line:

Pṛthivītalam (⏑ – – – – ⏑) *divaṁ jayaty-ajitaḥ.*

Var. *β*. The beginning *kṣitipatir ajito* and the end *-siṁh(o) divaṁ jayati* are certain on most specimens of var. *β*. On the analogy of similar inscriptions the legend may be restored by

the insertion of *vijayī mahendra-* to complete an Upagīti line:

Kṣitipatir ajito vijayī mahendrasiṅho divaṁ jayati.

'The unconquered, victorious lion among Mahendras conquers heaven, (being already) lord of the earth.'

Var. γ has a similar legend which is not complete on any specimen, nor is the whole given by all the specimens. The longest portion is found on Pl. XIII. 6 and 8; by completing the emperor's name and adding the usual *divaṁ jayati* we get an Upagīti line:

Kṣitipatir ajito vijayī Kumāragupto divaṁ jayati.

'The unconquered, victorious Kumāragupta conquers heaven, (being already) lord of the earth.'

The coins of this variety are remarkable for the careless spacing of the inscription; on no. 211, for example, the engraver has only reached *ku* when he has exhausted the space at his disposal. Nos. 216–18 perhaps have a different legend, as the character before *jay* does not seem to be *va*: it may be *ha*, but the traces left are not sufficient to indicate the complete legend.

Var. δ has a long legend not completely legible on the only known specimen (see p. 155); it includes:

Kumāragupto jayaty-ajitaḥ.

Class II. The legends on the two varieties of this class are closely connected in sense. That of var. α is an Upagīti line:

Guptakulavyomaśaśī jayaty-ajeyo 'jitamahendraḥ.

'The unconquered Mahendra, invincible, the moon in the sky of the Gupta line, is victorious.'

Var. β has the legend, also in Upagīti metre:

Guptakulāmalacandro mahendrakarmā(= ā + a)jito jayati.

'The unconquered moon in the sky of the Gupta line, whose deeds are those of a Mahendra (or who has become a Mahendra through sacrifice (*karma*)), is victorious.'

The reverse legend *Ajitamahendraḥ* recalls the *Ajitavikramaḥ* of this type of the preceding reign.

§ 149. *Lion-slayer Type.* Four different obverse legends may be distinguished on the four varieties of this type. That of var. *α* is an Upagīti line:

Sākṣād iva Narasiṅho siṅhamahendro jayaty-aniśaṁ.

'Like Narasiṅha in presence, the lion-Mahendra is eternally victorious.'

The legends on the specimens catalogued on pp. 77–8 are not complete, and the restoration of *(Narasiṅho si)ṅha* is there suggested to complete the metre. Since these pages were printed off, however, a coin has been acquired which shows that this restoration is correct (see Addenda, p. 155, no. 233); a further difficulty till the complete legend was practically certain was the peculiar form of *n* in *aniśaṁ*, which closely resembles *t*. A final *anuṣvāra*, which at first suggests that the legends begin on l., is also found in one variety of Skandagupta's silver coins.

Var. *β*. The legend on this variety on the three known specimens begins *Kṣitipati*, and the I. M. specimen (**Pl. XIV. 8**) ends *Kumāragupto divaṁ jayati*; the seventh *akṣara* on **Pl. XIV. 6** is *ta*, while the eighth and ninth are given on **Pl. XIV. 7** as *Mah(e)*, so that the whole legend may be restored as an Upagīti line:

Kṣitipatir ajitamahendraḥ Kumāragupto divaṁ jayati.

'Kumāragupta, the unconquered Mahendra, conquers heaven, (being already) the lord of the world.'

Var. *γ*. The traces of the legend on var. *γ* that survive are very fragmentary: all three specimens begin *Kumāra*, to which *gupto* may be added. **Pl. XIV. 9** ends *t(i)*, which suggests *divaṁ jayati*; on the St. Petersburg specimen the ninth and tenth *akṣaras* are *s(i)ṅha*, which suggests *siṅhamahendro*. If we restore *vijayī* for the sixth, seventh, and eighth *akṣaras* we have an Upagīti line:

Kumāragupto vijayī siṅhamahendro divaṁ jayati.

'The victorious Kumāragupta, the lion-Mahendra, conquers heaven.'

Var. *δ*. The legend on var. *δ* is a short one. It clearly begins *Kumāragupto* and ends *siṅhavikkramaḥ*; there are two characters between these words of which the second is *dh*; at first sight there seems to be two characters *para* after *Kumāragupta*, but a closer examination reveals the fact that the apparent *p*[*a*] is connected to *r*[*a*] by a small stroke, so that the character is really a form of *yu*; this suggests that the vowel *i* should be supplied to the *dh*, so that the legend is

Kumāragupto yudhi siṅhavikkramaḥ.

'Kumāragupta, who has the valour of a lion in battle.'

It is probably only a coincidence that this is a Vaṁśasthavila[1] line.

A similar difficulty is offered by the legend on var. *ϵ*, which proves to be the same as the preceding. The character immediately behind the king's r. arm which at first sight looks like *su* is another form of *yu*, and the *dh*(*i*) is just visible above the king's head.

The reverse legend on all is *Siṅhamahendraḥ* or *Śrī-Mahendra-siṅhaḥ*, and is modelled on that of Candragupta II's Lion type.

§ 150. *Tiger-slayer Type.* The legend of this type, like the type itself, is copied from that of Samudragupta's similar type. The complete legend is

Śrīmāṁ Vyāghrabalaparākramaḥ,

but no trace of *anuṣvāra* is to be found on any known specimen. There is no doubt about the *ā* in *Śrīmāṁ*; the reverse legend is *Kumāragupto 'dhirājā*. The form *adhirājā* is unusual.

§ 151. *Peacock Type.* Our reading of the legend on this type is very uncertain. It ends on l. *mahendrakumāraḥ* and begins *jayati*: the seven letters that follow are puzzling: we have suggested *jayati svabhūmau guṇarāśi* for the right half of the legend, which looks tantalizingly legible on **Pl. XV. 13**: with *guṇarāśi* we may compare the *guneśo* of the Archer type. var. *ζ*, but this reading is by no means certain either.

§ 152. *Pratāpa* and *Elephant-rider Type.* The former contains the remains of a long legend which it is impossible to read, and the traces of the legend on the latter type are equally illegible; the reverse legend of the latter seems to include *gaja*.

§ 153. *Silver Coins.* The legend on Kumāragupta's Western issues of silver coins is similar to that of his father's. The fullest form is

Paramabhāgavata-mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Kumāragupta-Mahendrādityaḥ,

which is found on Classes I and III α; on Classes II and III β the regnal title is *rājādhirāja* only, while on var. β of Class II the Vaiṣṇava epithet is *bhāgavata*.

On his Central issues we have the Upagīti line found also on var. α of the Archer type:

Vijitāvanir avanipati(ḥ) Kumāragupto divaṁ jayati;

divaṁ is distinct on one or two coins of this class, e. g. nos. 396 and 401; var. β in place of *divaṁ* has the locative *divi* = 'is victorious in heaven'.

§ 154. *Copper Coins.* The Bodleian copper coin bears simply the name *Kumāraguptaḥ*, while the other coins here attributed to Kumāragupta I have only *Śrī-Ku*.

4. Skandagupta and his Successors.

§ 155. *Archer* and *King and Lakṣmī Types.* Although the legend of these types is not completely known, it seems certain that they both have the same legend. The inscription begins on r. *jayati mah* (cf. **Pl. XX. 4**), which may be expanded to *jayati mahītalam*. The final character is clear on almost every specimen, and seems to be *nvi*; the two characters that precede it are found on **Pl. XIX. 2, 3,** and **8**, and seem to be *su dha*. The last word of the legend, then, is probably *sudhanvī*,[1] 'the good archer'; the fragments visible beside the arrow in **Pl. XIX. 6–8** suggest

[1] *Sudhanvā* would be a more usual form.

Skandagupta. The characters above on r. in the King and Lakṣmī type are undoubtedly *jayati*, and not, as has been suggested, the name of the queen[1]; besides, we have already shown above (§ 113) that the lady is not the queen, but Lakṣmī. The character which we read *nvī* is certainly not *(Ska)nda*, as has been suggested.[2]

§ 156. *Heavy Archer Type.* This inscription cannot yet be read with certainty, although it is fully contained on known coins; **Pl. XIX. 11–13** show that the latter part on l. is

(jaya)ti divaṁ Śrī-Kramādityaḥ.

The right half of the legend, which is found on **Pl. XIX. 11** and **13**, both of which are unfortunately much bruised, cannot be read with certainty. The first two characters are *para*; the third looks at first sight like *m* on **Pl. XIX. 11**, but **Pl. XIX. 14** shows that it is clearly *h* with a vowel-mark above: the fourth and fifth seem to be *t*(-) *k*(-), the latter with a vowel above: the sixth seems on **Pl. XIX. 13** to be *r* with vowel-mark above, and the seventh is also *r*; the eighth is *ja*, which on **Pl. XX. 13** is followed by the *jaya*, which forms *jayati* with the *ti* on **Pl. XIX. 12**. The whole legend, then, is possibly an Upagīti line:

Parahitakārī rājā jayati divaṁ Śrī-Kramādityaḥ.

'The king Śrī-Kramādityaḥ, the benefactor of others, wins heaven.' We are very doubtful if this is correct, and the true reading will only be certain when a more perfect specimen is found. The first three characters, for example, might be *parahā*, the slayer of his foes.

§ 157. *Silver Coins.* The legends, like the types, follow those of Kumāragupta I; on the Garuḍa type it is of the usual form

Paramabhāgavata-mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Skandagupta-Kramādityaḥ.

The legend on the Bull type is usually defective, but seems to be the same as the preceding.

[1] *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 111; *J.A.S.B.*, 1894, p. 170.
[2] *I. M. Cat.*, i, p. 117.

The *Altar* type, Class I, gives Skandagupta the title *Vikramāditya*ḥ:

Paramabhāgavata-Śrī-Vikramāditya-Skandaguptaḥ.

Class II is similar, but with the title *Kramāditya*:

Paramabhāgavata-Śrī-Skandagupta-Kramādityaḥ.

Class III has a short legend without *āditya* title:

Paramabhāgavata-Śrī-Skandaguptaḥ.

§ 158. *Central Issues.* The commonest legend (Class I) on these coins is a variation of the corresponding legend on Kumāragupta's coins: it is an Upagīti line:

Vijitāvanir avanipatir jayati divaṁ Skandagupto 'yaṁ.

'This Skandagupta, having conquered the world, wins heaven, (being already) lord of earth.'

The rarer Class II has a legend exactly as on Kumāragupta's coins, with the addition of *Śrī*:

Vijitāvanir avanipatiḥ Śrī-Skandagupto divaṁ jayati.

5. Puragupta and his Successors.

§ 159. Puragupta. The fragments of the legend preserved on the known specimens show that it is similar to that of Skandagupta's heavy coins, only the beginning, *para*, and the last character, *tyaḥ*, for *Vikramādityaḥ*, are usually found.

§ 160. Prakāśāditya. The true reading of the legend is

vijitya vasudhāṁ divaṁ jayati.

The *tya*, which justifies the restoration of *vijitya*, is found only on **Pl. XXII. 1**. There is no question of a Prakrit nominative *devaṁ*,[1] as has been suggested, and the legend is the latter part of one of the usual metrical claims to have conquered earth and won heaven.

§ 161. Narasiṁhagupta. The only portions of the legend that have survived are *jayati Narasiṁhaguptaḥ* on **Pl. XXII. 7** and traces of the king's name on **Pl. XXII. 9**; it has not been

[1] *I. M. Cat.*, i, p. 119, note.

previously noted that the king's name is actually found on these coins, thus proving, if further proof were necessary, that he is the Narasiṁhagupta of the Bhitarī seal. The coins of Class II seem never to have had a marginal legend.

§ 162. Kumāragupta II. The only trace of the legend on Class I is the final *akṣara pt* = Kumāraguptaḥ: **Pl. XXIII. 1, 2, 3, 5** show that the legend of Class II is

Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Kumāragupta-Kramādityaḥ.

The *āditya* title is not found on any specimen, but the analogy of similar inscriptions suggests that it was on the left side.

§ 163. Candragupta III. This legend begins *para* and ends in *Dvādaśādityaḥ* (**Pl. XXIII. 7**), and is therefore modelled on the legends of Skandagupta's heavy coins and that of Puragupta, which suggests that Candragupta III is one of the earlier of the later rulers.

§ 164. Viṣṇugupta. No trace has survived of the marginal legend on these coins. We are unable to offer any explanation of the isolated letters that appear in the field, usually between the king's feet, on Skandagupta's lighter coins and those of his successors; *ja* and *bha* are found on Skandagupta's coins; *ru* or *u* on the coins of Prakāśāditya and Viṣṇugupta; *gre* (?) on coins of Narasiṁhagupta; *go* and *jā* on coins of Kumāragupta II; *bhā* on Candragupta III's coins; and *ca* on the coin of Narendrāditya. They cannot be the initials of mints, for these would not differ in every reign, nor do any of them suggest the names of possible mints.

§ 165. *Miscellaneous.* Budhagupta's legend is copied from that of Class II of Skandagupta (§ 158), but has the locative *divi* for the usual *divaṁ*. Marginal legends seem to disappear in the sixth century, and coins like those of Jayagupta and Śaśāṅka, for example, have the king's name only; Jayagupta's title *Prakāṇḍayaśāḥ* is an unusual one. The name under the king's

arm on **Pl. XXIV. 4** is very puzzling; it looks like Sahā or Samā: the upper character may possibly be a *ya*, in which case the name would be Yamā for a name like Yamāntakagupta, and we could thus connect it with **Pl. XXIV. 5**, on which the king's name seems to be Yama.

V. THE FINDS.

§ 166. It is unnecessary here to go over in any detail the ground already covered so thoroughly by Vincent Smith, in *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, pp. 148–63, in his investigation and explosion of the 'Guptas of Kanauj' myth: we will therefore only recapitulate with some additional notes the evidence available on the contents of the known hoards as distinct from finds of isolated specimens.

§ 167. The first recorded hoard of Gupta coins is that found at Kālighāt: its importance has not previously been fully appreciated. Marsden's[1] account of the hoard is as follows: 'A number of these gold coins with figures amounting, it is said, to upwards of two hundred, were accidentally discovered about the year 1783 at a place named *Kāligāt* on the eastern bank of the *Hūglī* river, ten miles above Calcutta. They were contained in a brass pot, and were carried by the finder (*Nāb-Kishen*) to Mr. Hastings, then governor of Bengal. By him the greater part were transmitted to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, with his request that they might be distributed among the most eminent public and private collections. Twenty-four were accordingly sent to the British Museum, nearly an equal number to the museum of the late Mr. Hunter, and some to distinguished individuals: but a proportion remained at the East India House.'

Wilson,[2] discussing his Pl. XVIII. 21–4 (coins of Candragupta II of heavy weight, like nos. 96–9 of this Catalogue, Narasiṁhagupta,

[1] *Num. Or.*, p. 726.

[2] *Ar. Ant*, pp. 416–17.

Kumāragupta II, and Viṣṇugupta), says, 'These are from a number of similar coins in the Company's collection, of rude execution and debased metal. They are part of two hundred found in a jar in the time of Warren Hastings, and sent by him to be distributed to public institutions at home. There are some in the British Museum, some in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, and some in the Public Library at Cambridge. They have different legends, but not often decipherable. Under the arm of the standing figure are the syllables *Ku*, *Vi*, *Chanda* for Kumāra, Vikrama, Chandra.'

John Nicholls, M.P., in his *Recollections and Reflections*,[1] says, 'I was informed by the late Warren Hastings that he sent as a present to the Directors of the East India Company one hundred and seventy-two dareics. They had been found buried in an earthen pot, on the bank of a river in the province of Benares. Mr. Hastings told me that when he sent these coins to the Court of Directors, he considered himself as making the most munificent present to his masters that he might ever have in his power to send them. Judge of his surprise when he found on his arrival in England that the dareics had been sent to the melting-pot.'

§ 168. We have no doubt that Marsden, Wilson, and Nicholls all refer to one and the same find: as Vincent Smith has already suggested, *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 150, Persian darics could not possibly be found in the Ganges valley, and coins of the Gupta Archer type might readily be called darics in the eighteenth century. According to all versions there were about two hundred coins found in a pot, and sent by Warren Hastings for distribution in England; as Warren Hastings left India in 1785, the date 1783 given by Marsden would suit Nicholls's story very well. We need lay no stress on Marsden's description of the receptacle of the coins as a brass pot, and Nicholls's as an earthen jar: all accounts agree that the coins were found in a pot on the banks of a river: the

[1] London, 1822, ii, pp. 203–4.

find spot was Kālighāt, and Nicholls's memory is probably at fault when he says it was 'in the province of Benares'.[1]

§ 169. What Nicholls, and perhaps Warren Hastings also, did not know is that a number were distributed among institutions and collectors, and that it was the proportion that remained at the East Indian House (see above, § 167) that were ultimately melted down in a mercenary fit,[2] with many other objects, by the Board of Directors. The coins of the later Guptas in the original British Museum collection, the Banks, Cracherode, and Payne-Knight collections (i.e. the 'distinguished individuals' of Marsden's account) and in the Hunter collection, all were acquired in the eighteenth century, and all show the same deposit of corrosion due to the action of the Ganges for centuries on their base metal; the Bodleian (formerly Ashmolean) coins of Narasiṁhagupta are similar. Further, the India Office collection as now in the Museum contains very few of these coins, which is in keeping with Warren Hastings's statement that they were melted down. We have no doubt, then, that there was only one hoard sent home by Warren Hastings, and that it was found at Kālighāt. Wilson's and Marsden's accounts are naturally the more accurate. From Wilson's illustrations, and the coins which may be otherwise traced to it, in the British Museum, Hunterian, and Bodleian collections, the hoard contained coins of Candragupta II of the Archer type of weight about 132 grains with *cakra* symbol, Narasiṁhagupta, Kumāragupta II, and Viṣṇugupta of Class II.

§ 170. The next hoard of importance is that found at Bharsar,[3] near Benares, in 1851; it originally contained about 160 coins, of which only ninety were recovered: of these thirty-two were described in detail as follows:

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[1] The two were perhaps not incompatible; Nicholls does not say 'near Benares', as he is made to do by Cunningham and Vincent Smith.

[2] Cf. Cunningham, *J.A.S.B.*, 1881, p. 184.

[3] Kittoe, *J.A.S.B.*, 1852, pp. 390-400.

Samudragupta	Standard Type	2
	Archer Type	3
	Lyrist Type	1
Candragupta II	Archer Type	8
	Horseman Type	2
Kumāragupta I	Archer Type	2
	Horseman Type	4
	Tiger-slayer Type	1
	Peacock Type	1
Skandagupta	Archer Type	6
Prakāśāditya	Horseman Type	2
		32

Seventy-one of the ninety were coins of Candragupta II, sixty-nine being of one type, apparently the Archer. The importance of the hoard is that it gives a clue to the date of Prakāśāditya, if we assume the portion recovered was representative of the hoard. It has not previously been noted that the India Office collection now in the British Museum contains the selection made for the Government and detailed in Messrs. Bayley and Thornton's report; these can be identified even from the wretched plate illustrating Major Kittoe's report. Coins from this hoard are as far as possible identified in this Catalogue; the coins figured in the plate can be readily identified, notably such rare pieces as nos. 55 and 101 of this Catalogue; the identification of pieces not illustrated is more conjectural, but it seems that most of the India Office collection came from this hoard.

§ 171. A small find of coins illustrated on the same Plate XII in *J.A.S.B.*, 1852, as the preceding (and pp. 401, 402), was made at Muhammadpur near Jessore and described by Rajendralal Mitra: it contained the *rājalīlā* coin of Narendrāditya, a coin of Śaśāṅka, and a specimen of the late imitations illustrated here in **Pl. XXIV. 17**; these coins are now in the Indian Museum; silver coins of 'Candragupta, Kumāragupta, and Skandagupta' are said to have been found with them.

§ 172. Thirteen gold coins were found near Hūglī in 1883,[1] viz.:

Samudragupta	Standard Type	1
Candragupta II	Archer Type	5
Kumāragupta I	Archer Type	3
	Horseman Type	3
	Lion-slayer Type	1
		13

§ 173. The Tāṇḍā[2] hoard, unearthed in 1885, contained twenty-five coins of Samudragupta of the Kāca, Candragupta I, Aśvamedha, and Battle-axe Types. The hoard found at Kotwā[3] in the Gorakhpur district contained the following coins:

Candragupta II	Archer Type	2
	Lion-slayer Type	1
Kumāragupta I	Archer Type	1
	Horseman Type	6
	Lion-slayer Type	1
	Peacock Type	2

§ 174. A small hoard was found at Bastī[4] in 1887; of the ten coins recovered nine were of Candragupta II Archer type and one of his Chattra type.

Twenty-two coins were found in 1893 near Kunahrā Ghāt in the bāzār of Hājīpur,[5] of which fourteen were recovered, viz.:

Samudragupta	Standard Type	2
	Archer Type	1
	King and Queen Type	1
	Battle-axe Type	1
Candragupta II	Archer Type	3
	Chattra Type	3
	Lion-slayer Type	3

[1] *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 152.
[2] *Proc. A.S.B.*, 1886, p. 68; *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 47.
[3] *Proc. A.S.B.*, July, 1887; *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 47.
[4] *Proc. A.S.B.*, 1887, p. 221.
[5] *Ibid.*, 1894, p. 57.

§ 175. An important find was made at Tikri Debra in the Mirzapur district (quoted as the Mirzapur find); it contained forty coins which have been carefully detailed by the Hon'ble Mr. Richard Burn[1]; they were as follows:

Samudragupta	Standard Type	2
	Battle-axe Type	1
Candragupta II	Archer Type	15
	Lion-slayer Type	10
	Horseman Type	8
Kumāragupta I	Archer Type	1
	Lion-slayer Type	1
	Horseman Type	2
		40

The most remarkable coins in this hoard, which is now in the Lucknow Museum, were the new Lion-slayer coins, illustrated here on **Pl. IX. 12, 13**, one being of a new type.

A small find of coins has recently been made at Ballia and acquired by the Lucknow Museum; it consisted entirely of coins of Samudragupta,[2] viz.:

Standard Type	11	Kāca Type	1
Battle-axe Type	1	Aśvamedha Type	3

§ 176. *Silver Coins.* The information available on the provenance of silver coins, although not as a rule very detailed, clearly shows that two great classes, western and central issues, are to be distinguished. Little information is available regarding the provenance of Candragupta II's rare silver coins; the two specimens of the *Vikramāṅka* type formerly in Dr. Bühler's possession were obtained in the Bombay Presidency,[3] and one of the commoner type was found in Kathiāwār[4] with coins of Kumāragupta I. A

[1] *Num. Chron.*, 1910, pp. 398-408, Pl. XIV.

[2] This find has not yet been published; the above particulars are given on the authority of Mr. W. E. M. Campbell, I.C.S.

[3] *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 120.

[4] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, 1862, p. 11.

specimen of the *Vikramāditya* type was found at Sultānganj in Bengal with a coin of the last western Kṣatrapa Svāmi Rudrasiṁha.[1] The association of these two is interesting, but they can hardly have been current in the district in which they were found. A number of finds of coins of Kumāragupta and Skandagupta are recorded from Western India. Sixty-eight coins forwarded to the Bombay Asiatic Society from Ahmadabad in 1861 seem all to have been of Kumāragupta I,[2] while of a find of 1,395 coins in the Sātara district made about the same time, 1,100 were of the Garuḍa type of Kumāragupta I, three of the later Western Kṣatrapas, and the remainder are attributed to the kings of Valabhī, but it is not impossible that they were also of Kumāragupta I.[3] In 1867 the Thakur of Bhaunagar presented to the Bombay Asiatic Society two coins of later Western Kṣatrapas, nine of Kumāragupta I, and one of the Valabhī dynasty, evidently from a find in his territory[4]: a similar donation was given at the same time by the Jam of Nawanagar.[5] Thirteen coins of Kumāragupta I were found at Ellichpur in 1851, and presented to Sir H. M. Elliot.[6] Mr. Newton[7] describes the coins published by him as from Kathiāwār and Gujarat. Coins of Kumāragupta's western issues are 'most commonly obtained at Benares, Ayodhyā, Mathurā, and places near these cities', and 'a considerable number have been found near Saharānpur and at Būriyā on the Jumna'.[8] 'Thomas's specimens were chiefly obtained in Kanauj, and Freeling's centre of operations was Hamīrpur on the Jumna, but all his nine specimens of the Peacock type were obtained eastward of that river.'[9]

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[1] *A.S.R.*, x, p. 127. [2] *Proc. B.B.R.A.S.*, 1861, p. xxxix.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. liv, lxxi; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 124.

[4] *Proc. B.B.R.A.S.*, 1867, p. xiii. [5] *Ibid.*, p. xiv.

[6] *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 124.

[7] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, 1862, pp. 1 ff. We take this opportunity of noting that his fig. 13 and p. 12, doubtfully assigned to Skandagupta by Cunningham, 'Chaitya' type (*J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 132), is a coin of the Traikūṭaka Dahrasena see Rapson, *A. & W.K.*, nos. 930 ff.

[8] Cunningham, quoted by Vincent Smith, *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 127.

[9] Thomas, in *P.E.*, i, p. 339.

Similar evidence is available regarding the provenance of Skandagupta's silver coins. The 236 coins of the 'Altar' type of Skandagupta which were sent for examination to the Bombay Asiatic Society in 1861 by the Rao of Kacch[1] were probably found in his dominions. Most of the known specimens of Budhagupta's coins were obtained in Benares, but they must have been brought there by pilgrims, as Vincent Smith points out[2]; the copper coins of Candragupta II seem to be commonly found around Ayodhyā.[3]

VI. METROLOGY, ETC.

§ 177. The following discussion of the weights of the Gupta gold coins is only a comparative one. Standards probably varied considerably in the different districts, and we have practically no information from literary sources with which to compare the coins. We have further to deal with the influence of the traditional Kushan standard, which is quite as persistent as the 'Kushan attitude' in the types. While we cannot say definitely what standard the coins follow, the following results based on the average weights of groups of well-preserved coins are of interest as showing how the original Kushan (Roman) standard of the north was gradually forgotten and abandoned until, in the later coinages of the east, we have a return to the old Hindu *suvarṇa* standard of 146·4 grains.

§ 178. The earliest Gupta coins follow the standard of their late Kushan prototypes. Ten well-preserved coins of Samudragupta's Standard type average 118·9 grains (highest 120·6 and 121), four of the Archer type, 118·1 grains (highest 120), six of the Candragupta I type, 119 grains (highest 121 and 123), two of the Kāca type (most specimens of which are worn), 117·6 (highest 118), five of the Lyrist type, 118·6 (highest 120·7 and 120), six of the

[1] *Proc. B.B.R.A.S.*, 1861, p. lxxviii.
[2] *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, pp. 134–5.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 139–41.

Aśvamedha type, 118·3 grains. These figures agree very well with the weights of the late Kushan coins of the third century which run from 118 to 122 grains. With the types and standard of their northern neighbours the Guptas seem also to have adopted the name *dināra*, by which these coins were known to the Kushans; this name is to be traced to the Latin *denarius* (*aureus*). as is the standard itself to the Roman solidus. The variations of four to six grains in well-preserved specimens of the same type of Samudragupta's coins may be due to variations of the standard in different districts, but it probably shows that little effort was made to strike the coins accurately on a particular standard, and that they were considered rather as medals than coins. This standard may be defined as of about 121 grains.

§ 179. The majority of Candragupta II's coins follow a standard which is practically that of Samudragupta's reign, but there is evidence that at least three standards are to be distinguished. Of these the first is that of 121 grains in use in the preceding reign; the second of 125 or 126 grains; and the third of 132 grains. All these are found in the Archer type; twenty coins (nos. 63–82) yield an average of 120·7 grains, or, if we exclude nos. 73, 77, and 78, which may belong to the second standard, 120·3; eleven coins (nos. 84–95, excluding 93 which weighs only 121·5 grains), average 125·2 grains and belong to the second standard; the third standard is found in this reign in nos. 96–9 of this type only, which give an average of 130·2, practically that of the lighter coinage of Skandagupta; these coins differ in fabric from all others of the reign and are mainly from the Kālighāt hoard, so that their standard is a purely local one of the eastern part of the Gupta dominions. The two specimens of the Couch type, neither in perfect condition, average 116. Nine specimens of the Chattra type average 120·6; seven of them, which average 119·4, belong to the first, and two, which average 124·8, belong to the second standard; seventeen specimens of the Lion-slayer type average 120·4, and two (p. 43) 126·3. Fourteen of the Horseman type

average 120·4 grains, and one weighs 127·6. It is clear, then, that two standards may be distinguished in most types, one of 121 grains and another of 126 grains; the latter, which becomes usual in Kumaragupta I's reign, is due to approximation to local standards.

§ 180. The majority of Kumāragupta I's gold coins follow the standard of about 126 grains introduced in Candragupta II's reign, but traces of the early standard survive in the Archer type. Five specimens, nos. 190–4 (including the Bodleian specimen of var. γ and excluding the much worn no. 191), average 125·1 grains, while six specimens, nos. 196–200 and Bodleian no. 79, average 120·1; the specimens of the Swordsman type are all of the higher standard, four specimens averaging 124·4 grains, while one of the Aśvamedha weighs 124·5. A remarkable uniformity is observable in the specimens of the Horseman type, the commonest coinage of the reign: twenty-eight specimens average 125·9 grains. Eleven specimens of the Lion-slayer type (nos. 231–42, excluding 233) average 125·9 grains, and nine specimens of the Tiger-slayer type average 125·8 grains. The light weight (115 grains) of the 'Pratāpa' coin is explained by the traces of the original type below, which show that it is some foreign coin restruck, and the unique Elephant-rider coin (wt. 124·1 grains) is obviously of Kumāragupta's usual standard.

§ 181. Skandagupta's coins are struck on two standards both independent of the traditional Kushan standard, which can still be traced in the preceding reigns; of these one is previously found only on certain Archer coins of Candragupta II; eight specimens of Skandagupta's lighter Archer type and of his King and Lakṣmī type average 131 grains, which recalls the 130·2 yielded by the four specimens of Candragupta II's coins of this standard. These coins are clearly struck on a local standard of about 132 grains. Five well-preserved specimens of the heavy coins of Skandagupta average 142 grains: this suggests the suvarṇa standard, 146·4

grains, but the heaviest specimen weighs only 142·6, and it is only in later reigns that this standard is clearly in use. A similar average is obtained from Puragupta's few coins. Five of Prakāśāditya's coins average 145·4 grains, three of Narasiṁhagupta's Class I average 146·5 grains, while eight of Class II average 146. The better preserved specimen of Class I of Kumāragupta II weighs 143, while the two varieties of Class II seem to be struck on slightly different standards, as nine specimens of var. *α* average 149·2, and six of var. *β* average only 147·5. The average of three coins of Candragupta III is 145·3 grains. Fifteen coins of Viṣṇugupta average 148·3 grains. Four coins of Śaśāṅka average 145·8 grains, and the coins bearing the name Narendrāditya weigh 148·2 and 149 grains respectively. The light average (136 grains) of the coins of Jayagupta is due to the fact that they are of very base metal. It seems impossible to connect the weights 162·5 and 161·7 of Vīrasena with the suvarṇa standard; these heavy weights are further evidence of the lateness of the coins.

§ 182. The silver coins of the Guptas show considerable variation in weight, although more uniformity may be observed in their central than in their western coinages. The standard, like the types, was that of the Western Kṣatrapas, a *kārṣāpaṇa* of about 32 to 34 grains in the West, and about 36 grains in the Central Provinces, although the latter does not assert itself till the reign of Skandagupta. The copper coins of the Guptas are in such poor condition that no useful purpose could be served by discussing their weight.

The gold coins of the Guptas are mentioned in a number of inscriptions as dināras[1]; in one inscription[2] both dināras and suvarṇas are mentioned; as the inscription is probably of the reign of Kumāragupta I, of which coins of the suvarṇa standard are not known, it is most probable that the same coins are referred to, in the first case by their foreign name, while in the latter case

[1] Fleet, *C.I.I.*, iii, nos. 5, 7, 8, 9, 62, 64.

[2] *Ibid.*, no. 64.

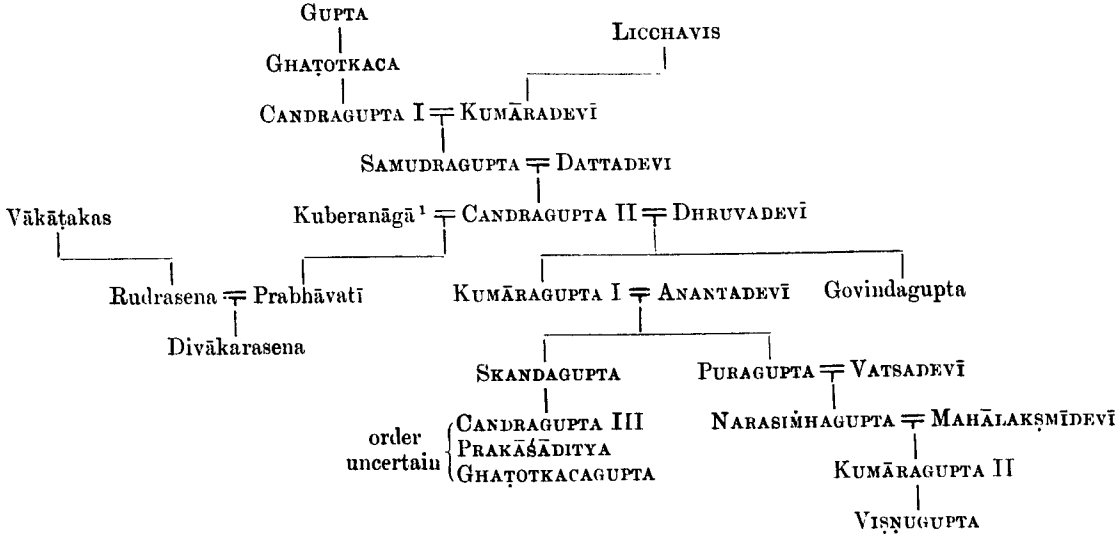
they are given the Indian name *suvarṇa*, although not actually of that standard; unless, perhaps, *suvarṇa* here is a money of account.

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§ 183. In conclusion, I have to express my thanks to all who have assisted me in the preparation of this Catalogue, especially to Dr. L. D. Barnett, Keeper of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts, and Mr. G. F. Hill, Keeper of Coins, who have read the proofs of the whole work. In the footnotes I have endeavoured to express my obligations to previous writers on the Gupta period, but I must here emphasize my indebtedness to Dr. J. F. Fleet's *Corpus of Gupta Inscriptions*, and the articles in the *Indian Antiquary* supplementary to it by the same author; and to Mr. Vincent A. Smith's papers on the Coinage and History of the Gupta period in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, and *Indian Antiquary*. I have also to thank the various private collectors who have helped me by placing their collections at my disposal for study, notably the Hon'ble Mr. Richard Burn, I.C.S., Mr. W. E. M. Campbell, I.C.S., Dr. William Hoey, I.C.S. (retired), and particularly the Hon'ble Mr. H. Nelson Wright, I.C.S., to whose efforts to increase the British Museum collection much of the new material now made accessible is due. I have lastly to thank the Keeper of Coins for his help in the arrangement and production of this Catalogue; without his advice and encouragement I could not have ventured upon this *dustaraṁ sāgaram*.

J. ALLAN.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE GUPTA DYNASTY



[1] See K. P. Pathak, *I.A.*, 1912, pp. 214-15.

GUPTA EMPERORS

	A. D.
Gupta	275–300
Ghaṭotkaca	300–320
Candragupta I	320–325
Samudragupta	335–380
Candragupta II Vikramāditya	380–414
Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya	414–455
Skandagupta Kramāditya	455–480
Puragupta Vikramāditya	480–485
Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya	485–530
Kumāragupta II Kramāditya	530–540
Viṣṇugupta Candrāditya	540–560
Candragupta III Dvādaśāditya, Prakāśāditya, Ghaṭotkacagupta	date and order uncertain

GUPTAS OF EASTERN MĀLWA

Budhagupta	380–400
Bhānugupta	400–410

KING OF GAUḌA

Śaśāṅka	600–625

UNCERTAIN

Jaya[gupta]	sixth century
Narendrāditya	,,
Dharmāditya	,,

TABLE

OF

KNOWN DATES IN THE GUPTA PERIOD

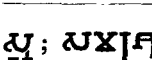
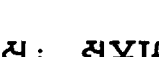
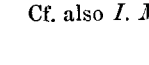
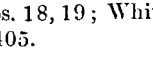
Ruler.	Date.	Source.	Reference.
Candra-gupta II	G.E. 82 = A.D. 401/2	Udayagiri inscr.	Fleet. *C.I.I.*, iii, no. 3
	G.E. 88 = A.D. 407/8	Gaḍhwā inscr.	„ „ no. 7
	G.E. 90(+x?) = A.D. 409(+x?)	Silver coins	*Cat.*, nos. 133, 134. 136
	G.E. 93 = A.D. 412/3	Sānchi inscr.	Fleet, *op. cit.*, no. 5
Kumāra-gupta I	G.E. 96 = A.D. 415/6	Bilsaḍ inscr.	Fleet, *op. cit*, no. 10
	G.E. 98 = A.D. 417/8	Gaḍwā inscr.	„ „ no. 9
	G.E. 113 = A.D. 432/3	Mathurā inscr.	*E.I.*, ii. 210.
	G.E. 117 = 436/7	Karamaḍāṇḍe inscr.	Vogel, *Antiquities of Chambā*, p. 123.
	M.E. 493 = A.D. 437/8	Mandasor inscr.	Fleet, *op. cit.*, no. 11
	G.E. 119 = A.D. 438/9	Silver coins	*Cat.*, nos. 385–7, 391
	G.E. 122 = A.D. 441/2	„ „	„ no. 388
	G.E. 124 = A.D. 443/4	„ „	„ no. 398
	G.E. 129 = A.D. 448/9	Mankuwār inscr	Fleet, *op. cit.*, no. 18
	G.E. 136 = A.D. 455/6	Silver coins	V. A. Smith, *J.A.S.B.*, 1894, p. 175
Skanda-gupta	G.E. 136 = A.D. 455/6	Jūnāgaḍh inscr.	Fleet, *op. cit.*, no. 14
	G.E. 137 = A.D. 456/7	„ „	„ „ „
	G.E. 138 = A.D. 457/8	„ „	„ „ „
	G.E. 141 = A.D. 460/1	Kahaum inscr.	*Cat.*, nos. 523–6.
	G.E. 145 (?8) = A.D. 464 (?7)	Silver coin	„ no. 527.
	G.E. 146 = A.D. 465/6	„ „	„ nos. 528–30, 548.
	G.E. 146 = A.D. 465/6	Indore inscr.	Fleet, *op. cit.*, no. 16.
	G.E. 148 = A.D. 467/8	Silver coin	V. A. Smith, *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 134
Budha-gupta	G.E. 165 = A.D. 484/5	Eraṇ inscr.	Fleet, *op. cit.*, no. 19.
	G.E. 175 = A.D. 494/5	Silver coin	*Cat.*, no. 617.
Bhānu-gupta	G.E. 191 = A.D. 510/1	Eraṇ inscr.	Fleet, *op. cit.*, no. 20.
Śaśāṅka	G.E. 300 = A.D. 619/20	Copper-plate inscr.	*E.I.*, vi, pp. 193 ff.

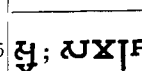
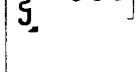
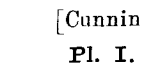
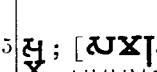
CATALOGUE OF COINS

GUPTA DYNASTY

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			SAMUDRAGUPTA, A. D. 335-80.	
			Standard Type.	
			King standing l., nimbate, wearing close-fitting cap, coat and trousers, ear-rings and necklace, holding in l. hand standard bound with fillet, dropping incense on altar with his r. hand; on l., behind altar, is a standard bound with a fillet, surmounted by a Garuḍa facing. Beneath king's arm *a.* 𑀲𑀫𑀼 *Samudra.* or *β.* 𑀲𑀫𑀼 𑀕𑀼 *Samudra-gupta.* (*Samaraśatavitatavijayo jitari-pur ajito divaṁ jayati*) (Metre: Upagīti.)	Goddess (Lakṣmī) seated facing on throne, nimbate, wearing loose robe, necklace, and armlets, holding fillet in out-stretched r. hand and cornu-copiae in l. arm; her feet rest on lotus; traces of back of throne on r. of most specimens; border of dots. Symbol on l. On r. 𑀧𑀭𑀓𑁆𑀭𑀫𑀃 *Parākramaḥ*
			a. Samudra in field.	
1	116·0	*N* ·75	𑀲𑀫𑀼; [𑀕𑀼𑀚𑀬𑀢𑀺𑀯𑀺𑀚𑀬𑁄] 𑀚𑀬𑀢𑀺𑀤𑀺𑀯𑀁 𑀚𑀬𑀢𑀺 crescent above Garuḍa.	𑀧𑀭𑀓𑁆𑀭𑀫𑀃; ∧ above on r. [Purchased, 1901.] **Pl. I. 1.**

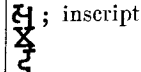
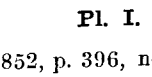
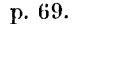
No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
2	117·8	Æ ·8	 ; [⏑ ⏑]; no trace of remainder of legend; crescent above Garuḍa.	 ;  ; 
			same reverse die as preceding.	Pl. I. 2.
–	—	Æ ·85	 ; [⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑]   crescent. same dies as no. 1.	;  ;  [Bibl. Nat. (formerly Vincent A. Smith).] Pl. I. 3.
–	—	Æ ·85	 ; [⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑]  crescent. same obverse die as no. 1.	 ;  [X];  [Bibl. Nat.] Pl. I. 4.
3	114·0	Æ ·8	 ;  	 ;  [Prinsep, 1847.] Pl. I. 5.
			P. E., i, p. 278, Pl. XXII. 17; *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 173; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 69.	
4	117·8	Æ ·8	; [⏑]	[]; [Twisden Sale, 1841, lot 909.] Pl. I. 6.
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 69.	
5	108·2	Æ ·8	 ; [⏑ X] 	; [India Office Collection.] Pl. I. 10.
–	—	Æ ·8	 ; []	; [Bibl. Nat.] Pl. I. 7.

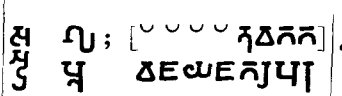
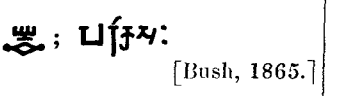
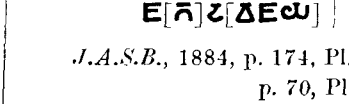
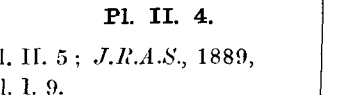
No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
6	117·8	*AV* ·8		 [Prinsep, 1847.] **Pl. I. 8.**
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 173, Pl. II. 3; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 69, Pl. I. 7.	
7	113·4	*AV* ·8		 above on r. [India Office Collection.] **Pl. I. 9.**
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 69.	
8	118·2	*AV* ·8	 (beginning on l.)	 [Eden, 1853.] **Pl. I. 11.**
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 173, Pl. II. 4; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 69, Pl. I. 8.	
9	116·5	*AV* ·8		 [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. I. 12.**
			Cf. also *I. M. Cat.*, i, p. 103, nos. 18, 19; White King, *Cat.*, no. 5405.	
–	116·1	*AV* ·8		 [In Mr. Burn's collection.] **Pl. I. 13.**
10	121·0	*AV* ·75		(*parākkramaḥ*) [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. I. 14.**

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
11	118·9	Æ ·75		 (*parākkramaḥ*) [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. I. 15.**
12	120·4	Æ ·75		 (*parākkramaḥ*) [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. I. 16.**
13	118·6	Æ ·7	 inscription off the flan.	 (*parākkramaḥ*) [I. O. C.] **Pl. I. 17.**

Bharsar hoard, *J.A.S.B.*, 1852, p. 396, no. 3; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 69.

β. *Samudragupta* in field; obv. legend begins on l.

14	114·6	Æ ·8		 [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. II. 1.**
15	117·6	Æ ·8		[ ]  [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. II. 2.**
16	120·6	Æ ·8		 ∴ above on r. [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. II. 3.**

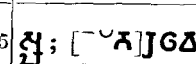
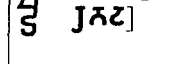
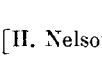
No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
17	119·3	*N* ·9		 [Bush, 1865.] **Pl. II. 4.**
–	112·3	*N* ·85		 [Lucknow Museum.] **Pl. II. 5.**

J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 174, Pl. II. 5; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 70, Pl. I. 9.

Mirzapur hoard, *Num. Chron.*, 1910, p. 400, no. 2.

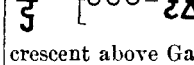
There are three specimens of this variety in the Indian Museum (nos. 22–4 of *Cat.*) and another in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Archer Type.	
			King standing l., nimbate, dressed as in preceding type, holding bow in l. hand, while r. holds arrow, the head of which rests on ground; Garuḍa standard on l.	Lakṣmī seated as on preceding type; symbol on l.
			Samudra beneath l. arm.	𑀅𑀧𑀢𑀺𑀭𑀣𑁄: (*Apratirathaḥ*)
			a. 𑀅𑀧𑀢𑀺𑀭𑀣𑁄 𑀯𑀺𑀚𑀺𑀢𑁆𑀬 𑀓𑁆𑀱𑀺𑀢𑀺𑀫𑁆 𑀲𑀼𑀘𑀭𑀺𑀢𑁃𑀭𑁆 𑀤𑀺𑀯𑀫𑁆 𑀚𑀬𑀢𑀺. *Apratiratho vijitya kṣitiṁ sucaritair divaṁ jayati.* (Metre: Upagīti.)	
18	116·4	Æ ·85	𑀅𑀧𑀢𑀺𑀭𑀣𑁄 [𑁆] 𑀲𑀫 𑀫𑁃𑀢𑁆𑀭𑁄𑀲𑀫	𑀅𑀧𑀢𑀺𑀭𑀣𑁄: [Cunningham, 1894.] Pl. IV. 1.
19	120·0	Æ ·8	𑀅𑀧𑀢𑀺𑀭[𑀣𑁄 𑀫𑁃𑀢𑁆𑀭𑁄] [𑁆] 𑀫 𑀫𑁃𑀢𑁆𑀭𑁄𑀲𑀫	𑀅𑀧𑀢𑀺𑀭𑀣𑁄: [I. O. C.]
			same dies as preceding.	Pl. IV. 2.
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 72.	
20	117·4	Æ ·8	legend entirely off flan.	𑀅𑀧𑀢𑀺𑀭𑀣𑁄: [Prinsep, 1847.] Pl. IV. 3.
			P.E., i, Pl. XXIII. 19, p. 279; 'dug up at Jaunpur' with a coin of Candragupta II (*P.E.*, Pl. XXIII. 18); *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 174; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 71.	

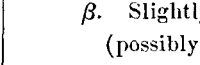
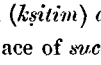
No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
21	117·1	Æ ·85		 [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] Pl. IV. 4.
–	—	Æ ·9	 crescent above Garuḍa.	 [St. Petersburg.] Pl. IV. 5.

White King, *Cat.*, no. 5406.

β. Slightly different legend (*kṣitim*) *ava* ◡◡ ◡◡ (possibly *avanipatir*) in place of *sucaritair.*

22	118·0	Æ ·9	 crescent above Garuḍa.	 [Eden, 1853.] Pl. IV. 6.

J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 174, Pl. II. 6; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 71, Pl. I. 10.

–	—	Æ ·9		 [St. Petersburg.] Pl. IV. 7.

Formerly in Mr. A. Grant's collection, *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 72.

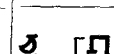
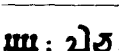
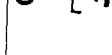
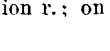
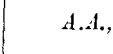
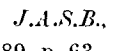
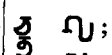
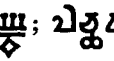
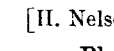
No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Coins commemorating the Marriage of Candragupta I and Kumāradevī.	
			Candragupta I standing to l., wearing close-fitting coat, trousers and head-dress, ear-rings and armlets, holding in l. hand a crescent-topped standard bound with fillet, and with r. hand offering an object, which on some coins is clearly a ring, to Kumāradevī who stands on l. to r. wearing loose robe, ear-rings, necklace and armlets, and tight-fitting head-dress; both nimbate.	Goddess (Lakṣmī), nimbate, wearing long loose robe, seated facing on lion couchant to r. or l., holding fillet in out-stretched r. hand and cornu-copiae in l. arm; her feet rest on lotus; behind her on l. are traces of the back of a throne on most specimens; border of dots.
			On r., on either side of standard α.  (*Candragupta*) β.  or γ.  (*Candragupta*) On l., α.  *Kumāradevī* or β.  *Śrī Kumāradevī* or γ.  *Kumāradevī Śrīḥ*	Symbol on l. On r.  (*Licchavayaḥ*)
23	113·0	*M* ·8		 lion l.

[Cunningham, 1894.]

Pl. III. 1.

No	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
–	110·7	*Æ* ·85	 ; [illegible]	; [illegible] lion r. [Indian Museum.] **Pl. III. 2.**
			I. M. Cat., i, p. 100, no. 4, Pl. XV. 1.	
–	—	*Æ* ·8	 [off flan] ; [illegible] crescent above, between king and queen.	; [illegible] lion r. [St. Petersburg.] **Pl. III. 3.**
24	115·4	*Æ* ·95	 ; [illegible] crescent above.	; [illegible] lion l. [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. III. 4.**
			From Ayodhyā.	
–	—	*Æ* ·95	 ; [illegible] crescent above.	 ; [illegible] lion r. [In Dr. W. Hoey's collection.] **Pl. III. 5.**
25	115·3	*Æ* ·8	 ; [illegible]	 ; [illegible] lion r. [Marsden, MLVIII.] **Pl. III. 6.**
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 63.	

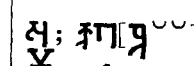
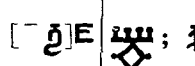
No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
–	—	Æ ·75	[off flan]; crescent above.	lion r. [In the Indian Museum.] **Pl. III. 7.**
			From General Pearse's collection.	
26	118·0	Æ ·75	[illegible]; crescent above.	lion l. [da Cuñha Sale, 1889, lot 826.] **Pl. III. 8.**
			J.R.A.S., 1893, p. 94.	
27	118·6	Æ ·8	[off flan]; crescent above.	lion r. [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. III. 9.**
			From Lucknow.	
28	123·8	Æ ·8	[illegible]; crescent above.	lion r. [Purchased, 1878.] **Pl. III. 10.**
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 63, Pl. I. 1.	
29	118·5	Æ ·75	[illegible];	lion r.; above on r. [Cunningham, 1894] **Pl. III. 11.**

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
30	118·2	*AV* ·8		 lion r.; on r.  [Swiney, 1869.] **Pl. III. 12.**
			A.A., p. 422, Pl. XVIII. 3; *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 171; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 63.	
31	121·0	*AV* ·85		 lion r.; on r.  [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. III. 13.**
–	—	*AV* ·8	 [off flan]	 lion l.; on r. [St. Petersburg.] **Pl. III. 14.**
			White King, *Cat.*, no. 5401.	
–	—	*AV* ·8	 off flan.	 lion r.; on r. [Berlin Museum.] **Pl. III. 15.**
–	—	*AV* ·8		 Lion l. [Bodleian, no. 683.]
			N.C., 1891, Pl. II. 1, p. 60.	
			This piece is of the same peculiar fabric as certain Standard (Pl. II. 1) and Battle-axe coins (Pl. IV. 15, 16).	

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Battle-axe Type.	
			King standing l., nimbate, wearing close-fitting cap, coat and trousers, ear-rings and necklace, and sword, holding battle-axe (*paraśu*) in l. hand, while r. hand rests on right hip; on l. boy or dwarf to r., behind whom is a crescent-topped standard. Beneath l. arm, *α.*  *Samudra.* *β.*  or  *Kṛ(tānta).* *γ.*  *Samudra-gupta.*  *Kṛtāntaparaśur jayaty-ajita-ājajetājitaḥ.* (Metre: Pṛthvī.)	Goddess (Lakṣmī), nimbate, seated on throne with lotus footstool or lotus, facing, as on Standard type (but in var. *γ* holding lotus in place of cornucopiae); border of dots. Symbol on l. on r.  (*Kṛtāntaparaśuḥ*)
			Var. *α. Samudra* under l. arm.	
32	116·7	*N* ·8	 ; 	; on r. [Prinsep, 1847.]

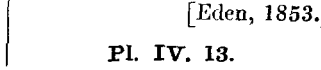
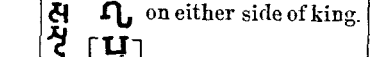
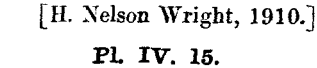
Pl. IV. 8.

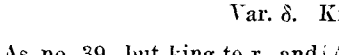
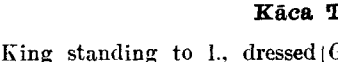
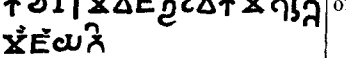
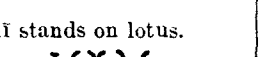
P.E., i, p. 279, Pl. XXIII. 23; *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 178: *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 73.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
33	115·2	Æ ·8		 on r. [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. IV. 9.**
34	111·8	Æ ·8	(beginning on l.)	 [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. IV. 10.**
35	123·4	Æ ·75	King does not wear sword. crescent above standard.	Goddess seated on lotus. [Bush, 1865.] **Pl. IV. 11.**
36	117·0	Æ ·75	King does not wear sword. 	Goddess seated on lotus.  [Thomas, 1853.] **Pl. IV. 12.**

J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 178, Pl. II. 11 ; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 73, Pl. I. 11.

J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 178 ; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 73.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Var. *β*. *Kṛ* under l. arm; king does not wear sword.	
37	117·7	Æ ·8		 [Eden, 1853.] **Pl. IV. 13.**
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 178, Pl. II. 12; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 73, Pl. I. 12.	
38	118·0	Æ ·85		Goddess on lotus as nos. 35 and 36.  [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. IV. 14.**
			Var. *γ*. *Samudragupta*; goddess on reverse, on throne without back, holds lotus.	
39	117·7	Æ ·85	King wears sword and boy holds up uncertain object, possibly sword; standard has two fluttering ribands at top. 	 [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. IV. 15.**
			'Obtained in Lucknow'; *J.A.S.B.*, 1904, *Num. Suppl.*, p. 2, Pl. I. 1.	

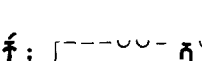
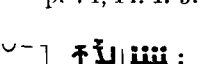
No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
40	116·7	*N* ·85	Similar, but king does not wear sword. on either side of battle-axe. 	 [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. IV. 16.**
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 73.	
			Var. δ. King to r.	
–	—	*N* ·85	As no. 39, but king to r. and boy to l. between king and boy. 	As nos. 39 and 40. [From the Swiney collection.]
			Ariana Antiqua, Pl. XVIII. 10, pp. 424–5.	
			Kāca Type.	
			King standing to l., dressed as in preceding types, holding standard surmounted by wheel (*cakra*) in l. hand, and sprinkling incense on altar with r. hand.  *Kāca* beneath l. arm.  (*Kāco gām avajitya divaṁ karmabhir uttamair jayati.*) (Metre: Upagīti.)	Goddess (Lakṣmī) standing to l., wearing loose robe, holding flower in r. hand and cornucopiae in l. arm; border of dots. Symbol on l. on r.  (*Sarvarājocchettā.*)
41	118·1	*N* ·85		Lakṣmī stands on lotus.  [H. Nelson Wright, 1910] **Pl. II. 6.**

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
42	115·0	Æ ·85	 [illegible]	 [illegible] [Eden, 1853.] Pl. II. 7.
43	111·0	Æ ·85	 [illegible] same dies as preceding.	[illegible] [Eden, 1853.] Pl. II. 8.
44	116·0	Æ ·85	[illegible]	 [illegible] [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] Pl. II. 9.
–	—	Æ ·85	 [illegible]	 [illegible] Pl. II. 10.
45	114·5	Æ ·75	 [illegible]	[illegible] [Cunningham, 1894.] Pl. II. 11.

From a plaster cast in the British Museum.

Th. *R.*, Pl. I. 1 (*obv.*); *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 170; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 74.

Th. *R.*, Pl. I. 1 (*rev.*); *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 170; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 74.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
46	115·2	Æ ·85		[Prinsep, 1847.] **Pl. II. 12.**
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 170, Pl. II. 1; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 74, Pl. I. 3.	
47	117·3	Æ ·8		 [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. II. 13.**

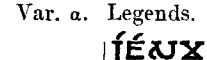
Tiger Type.

King standing l., wearing turban, waistcloth, necklace, ear-rings, and armlets, trampling on a tiger which falls backwards as he shoots it with bow in r. hand, l. hand drawing bow back behind ear; on l., behind tiger, crescent-topped standard as on Battle-axe type.	Goddess (Gāngā) standing l. on *makara* (elephant-headed fish), nude to waist, wearing ear-rings, necklace, anklets, and armlets, holding lotus in l. hand and r. hand outstretched empty; on l. crescent-topped standard bound with fillet. No symbol.

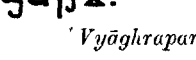
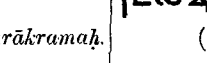
Var. α. Legends.



Vyāghraparākramaḥ.



(*Rājā Samudraguptaḥ*)

48	116·6	Æ ·85		 [Eden, 1853.] **Pl. II. 14.**

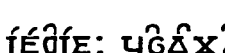
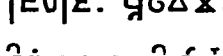
(Th. *Rec.*, Pl. I. 2, p. 21; *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 177, Pl. II. 10; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 64, Pl. I. 2.)

A very fine specimen of the above coin is in Dr. Hoey's collection and was published by Mr. Vincent A. Smith in the *J.A.S.B.*, 1894, p. 168, Pl. VI. 1. This shows standards on *obv.* and *rev.* more completely and proves that the above obverse legend is complete.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Var. *β*. Rev. legend as obverse.	
49	112·0 worn	*Æ* ·85	[illegible]	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

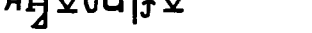
No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
52	119·5	*A* ·85	[illegible]	[illegible] [Prinsep, 1847.] **Pl. V. 3.**
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 175; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 67 (not Stacey, *P.E.*, Pl. XXIII. 26, as here suggested).	
53	117·2	*A* ·85	[illegible]	[illegible] No line behind goddess. [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. V. 4.**
			(White King, *Cat.*, no. 5404, now in St. Petersburg, is from the same obverse die.)	
54	117·7	*A* ·85	Similar, but back of couch slopes back; king bareheaded. [illegible]	Double-struck. [illegible] [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. V. 5.**
–	—	*A* ·85	Similar. [illegible]	[illegible] [St. Petersburg.] **Pl. V. 6.**
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 67 (A. Grant).	
–	—	*A* ·85	Similar. [illegible]	[illegible] [Berlin Museum.] **Pl. V. 7.**

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Var. *β*. Small thick coins of different fabric with symbol on reverse, without footstool on obverse.	
55	120·7	*Æ* ·75	[परम] देवतेन [ु–ु] गुप्तः	; राजसिंहः [I. O. C., 1882.] **Pl. V. 8.**
			Bharsar hoard, *J.A.S.B.*, 1852, p. 396, Pl. XIII. 5; *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 145, Pl. II. 8; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 68, Pl. I. 6.	
–	120·0	*Æ* ·75	परमदेवतेन [ु–ृ–]गुप्तः	; राजसिंहः [Indian Museum.]
			I. M. Cat., i, p. 102, no. 8, Pl. XV. 5, from Alwar.	
			Mr. W. E. M. Campbell has recently acquired a third specimen of this variety with symbol	

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Aśvamedha Type.	
			Horse standing l. before a sacrificial post (*yūpa*), from which pennons fly over its back; on some specimens a low pedestal below. Beneath horse  (*si*).   *Rājādhirājaḥ pṛthivīm avitvā*[1] *divaṁ jayaty-aprativāryavīryaḥ* (Metre: Upajāti.)	The chief queen (Mahiṣī) standing l., wearing loose robe and jewellery, holding chowrie over r. shoulder in r. hand, l. hangs by her side; on l. is a sacrificial spear bound with fillet; around her feet a chain (?) extending round spear and on some specimens gourd (?) at feet. No symbol.  (*Aśvamedhaparākramaḥ*)
56	117·0	*N* ·85	 	 [Eden, 1853.] **Pl. V. 9.**
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 176, Pl. II. 9; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 65, Pl. I. 4.	
57	118·6	*N* ·85	 	 [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. V. 10.**
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 66.	

[1] On a specimen in the Bodleian and on Dr. Hoey's specimen the first line ends ; *pṛthivīm vijitya*.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
–	119·0	Æ ·8	[– – ◡]ɛɥɢɑɤ[– –]	ʜɐʎɔɒɹ[ʃɤ:] [In Mr. W. E. M. Campbell's collection.] **Pl. V. 11.**
58	115·8	Æ ·8	[– – ◡ l – ɥ ◡ – ◡ – ɾ] [◡ – ◡ – ɾɟɥ ◡ – ◡ – ◡]	ʜɐʎɔɒɹʃɤ [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. V. 12.**
			'Acquired in Patna.'	
59	117·7	Æ ·8	[ɾ] alone legible.	ʜɐʎɔɒɹʃɤ: [Prinsep, 1874.] **Pl. V. 13.**
			P.E., Pl. XXIII. 31, p. 281; Th. *Rec.*, Pl. I. 4, p. 22; *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 176; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 66.	
60	117·0	Æ ·8	[– – ɒlɛɥ ◡ – ◡ – ɾ] ɾƨɐɛɯɟ[◡ ɾ – ◡ – ◡] beginning on l.	ʜɐʎɔɒɹʃɤ [Thomas, 1850.]
			A.A., Pl. XVIII. 2, p. 423, 'from Saharanpur'; *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 176; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 66.	
61	113·2	Æ ·75	Much worn.	ʜɐʎɔɒɹʃ[ʃɤ:] [Payne Knight, 1824.]
			Num. Vet. B. I., 206.	

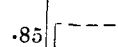
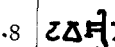
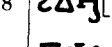
No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
62	114·7	*N* ·9	[– ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ –] 	 gourd (?) at queen's feet. **Pl. V. 14.**
–	112·5	*N* ·9	 	 [Bodleian, no. 694.]
–	—	*N* ·9	 	 [Bodleian (unpublished).]

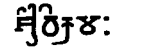
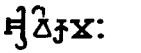
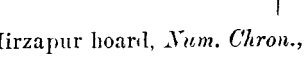
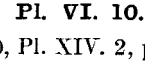
N.C., 1891, p. 60.

The other known specimens of this type are: *I.M. Cat.*, p. 101, nos. 1 and 2 (Pl. XV. 3 with pedestal); St. Petersburg (= White King, *Cat.*, no. 5403, with pedestal); Paris: *Bleazby Cat.* (Schulman, 1913), Pl. I. 230; two more specimens, 695 (*N.C.*, 1891, p. 60) and 696 (*ibid.*, Pl. II. 2) in the Bodleian: and a fine specimen in Dr. Hoey's collection (first line ends *vijitya*).

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			CANDRAGUPTA II, A. D. 380–414.	
			Archer Type. Class I.	
			(Throne Reverse.)	
			King standing l., nimbate, as on Archer type of Samudragupta, holding bow in l. hand and arrow in r.; Garuḍa standard bound with fillet on l.	Lakṣmī, seated facing, nimbate, on throne with high back, as on similar coins of Samudragupta, holding cornucopiae in l. hand and fillet in r.; her feet rest on lotus; border of dots. Symbol on l.
			𑀘 (*Candra*) under l. arm. around 𑀤𑁂𑀯𑀲𑁕𑀭𑀻𑀫𑀳𑀸𑀭𑀸𑀚𑀸𑀥𑀺𑀭𑀸𑀚 𑀲𑁕𑀻𑀘𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁕𑀕𑀼𑀧𑁆𑀢𑀃 (*Deva-Śrī-Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Candragupta*ḥ)	On r. 𑀲𑁕𑀻𑀯𑀺𑀓𑁆𑀭𑀫𑀃 (*Śrī Vikrama*ḥ)
			Var. *a*. Bow-string inwards, *Candra* between string and king.	
63	122·7	*N* ·8	𑀤𑁂𑀯[𑀲𑁕]𑀭𑀻[𑀗𑁂𑁆𑀘𑁆] [𑁁𑁁] 𑀫𑀳𑀸𑀭𑀸𑀚𑀸𑀥𑀺𑀭𑀸𑀚 𑀲𑁕𑀻𑀘𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁕𑀕𑀼𑀧𑁆𑀢𑀃	𑁣𑁣𑁣 ; 𑀲𑁕𑀻𑀯𑀺𑀓𑁆𑀭𑀫 [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. VI. 1.**
64	118·7	*N* ·8	𑀤𑁂𑀯𑀲𑁕𑀭𑀻𑀗𑁂𑁆𑀘𑁆[𑀗𑁂]	𑁣𑁣𑁣 ; double struck. [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. VI. 2.**

J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 80.

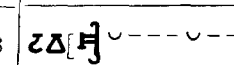
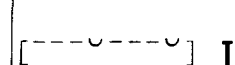
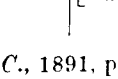
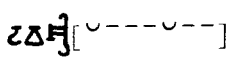
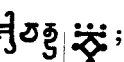
No	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Var. *β*. Bow-string inwards, *Candra* between string and bow.	
65	104·9	Æ ·85	[– – – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – –]  	; [] [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. VI. 3.**
			From Fyzabad.	
66	119·8	Æ ·85		; [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. VI. 4.**
			From Fyzabad.	
			There is another specimen of this variety in St. Petersburg from the Grant collection (wt. 113·2; cf. *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 80).	
			Var. *γ*. Bow-string outwards; king holds bow by middle; *Candra* outside bow.	
67	120·9	Æ ·8	 [ – ⏑ –]	;  [I. O. C., 1882.] **Pl. VI. 5.**
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 180, Pl. II. 14; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 80, Pl. I. 14.	
68	118·5	Æ ·8	 [– ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – –] 	; [Marsden, MLVII.] **Pl. VI. 6.**
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 180; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 81.	

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Var. *δ*. *obv.* as var. *a*, but *rev.* goddess seated on throne without back holding lotus in l. hand.	
69	118·3	*Æ* ·8		 ;  [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. VI. 7.**
			Another specimen of this type was published by Prinsep, *Essays*, i, Pl. XXIX. 13, p. 368, from Cunningham's collection, a coin from Mirzapur which cannot now be traced.	
			Archer Type. Class II. (Lotus reverse). Var. *a*. King drawing arrow from quiver.	
			King l., nimbate, as on preceding coins, but drawing an arrow from a quiver standing at his feet on l.; bow-string inwards; Garuḍa standard as before. Legends as on preceding type.	Goddess, nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding lotus and fillet in outstretched l. and r. hands respectively; border of dots. Symbol on l.
–	120·6	*Æ* ·85	 between bow and string.	 ;  [Lucknow Museum.] **Pl. VI. 10.**
			Mirzapur hoard, *Num. Chron.*, 1910, Pl. XIV. 2, p. 401.	
70	120·3 (with ring)	*Æ* ·8	 between bow and string.	 ; [] [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. VI. 11.**

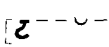
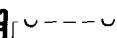
No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
–	120·5	*AV* ·8	 outside bow.  	 ;  [In Mr. W. E. M. Campbell's collection.] **Pl. VI. 12.**
			Var. *β*. King l. holding arrow in r. hand as in class I.	
			King, &c., as in class I, var. *α*;  on r. under l. arm between his body and bow-string. Legend as before.	Goddess, nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding fillet in outstretched r. hand and lotus in l. hand; border of dots. Symbol on l. Sub-varieties may be distinguished according to position of r. hand. [1] Legend  (*Śrī vikkramaḥ*)
71	120·6	*AV* ·75	[– – –]	Goddess holds lotus with short stalk in uplifted l. hand. [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. VI. 13.**
72	119·2	*AV* ·75	 []	 ; similar. [Yeaman, 1858.] **Pl. VI. 14.**
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 1881; *J.R.A.S.*, 1884, p. 81.	
73	123·9	*AV* ·8		 ; similar. [Spink, 1910.] **Pl. VI. 15.**

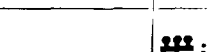
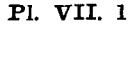
[1] When the reverse legend is not given it is the same as on the preceding coin.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
74	119·6	Æ ·75	[illegible]	[illegible]; similar. [Purchased, 1902.] **Pl. VI. 16.**
75	117·8	Æ ·75	[illegible]	[illegible]; lotus flower different. [Brind, 1859.] **Pl. VI. 17.**
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 180; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 81.	
76	121·8	Æ ·75	[illegible]	[illegible]; similar. [Yeaman, 1858.] **Pl. VI. 18.**
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 181; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 81.	
77	123·7	Æ ·75	[illegible]	l. hand of goddess rests on hip, holding lotus with long stalk. [illegible]; [illegible] [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. VII. 1.**
			N.C., 1891, p. 64, no. 12.	
78	124·0	Æ ·75	[illegible]	[illegible]; similar. [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. VII. 2.**
79	122·7	Æ ·75	[illegible]	[illegible]; similar. [Barstow, 1892.]

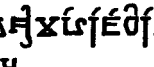
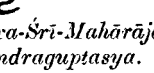
No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
80	121·7	Æ ·8		 ; similar. [Prinsep, 1847.] **Pl. VII. 3.**
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 181 ; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 81.	
81	119·7	Æ ·7		 ; similar. [I. O. C., 1882.] **Pl. VII. 4.**
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 181 ; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 81.	
82	120·2	Æ ·75		l. arm outstretched.  ;  [Da Cuñha sale, 1889, lot 827.] **Pl. VII. 5.**
			N.C., 1891, p. 56.	
83	120·4	Æ ·75		l. hand on hip.  ;  [Barstow, 1892.] **Pl. VII. 6.**
			J.R.A.S., 1893, p. 105, Pl. III. 2.	
84	124·7	Æ ·75		; similar. [Yeaman, 1858.] **Pl. VII. 7.**
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 181 ; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 81.	
85	126·3	Æ ·75	 only legible.	similar.  ;  [Twisden.]
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 181 ; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 81.	

[1] The tail of the *ndra* is often not continued across the arrow, so that the *akṣara* seems to be *n* only.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
86	124·5	Æ ·8	Traces of marginal legend on l.	[]; similar. [Marsden, ML.]
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 181; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 81.	
87	126·5	Æ ·85	No trace of marginal legend.	similar. ; [] [I. O. C., 1882.]
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 181; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 81.	
88	123·0	Æ ·8	No trace of marginal legend.	 ; similar. [I. O. C., 1882.] **Pl. VII. 8.**
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 181; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 81.	
89	124·6	Æ ·8	[] 	 ; similar. [Swiney, 1869.] **Pl. VII. 9.**
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 181; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 81.	
90	124·3	Æ ·75	 [] 	 ; similar. [Eden, 1853.] **Pl. VII. 10.**
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 181, Pl. III. 1; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 81, Pl. I. 15.	
91	125·5	Æ ·8	[] 	 ; similar. [I. O. C., 1882.] **Pl. VII. 11.**
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 181; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 81.	

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
92	127·6	Æ ·8		 ; similar. [I. O. C., 1882.]
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 181 ; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 81.	
93	121·5	Æ ·75	Crescent above standard ; traces only of legend.	similar.  ;  [Da Cuñha sale, 1889, lot 827.] **Pl. VII. 12.**
94	126·6	Æ ·7	Crescent above standard ; traces only of legend.	similar.  ;  [I. O. C., 1882.] **Pl. VII. 13.**
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 181 ; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 82.	
95	126·7	Æ ·8	Crescent above standard ; traces only of legend.	 ; similar. [I. O. C., 1882.] **Pl. VII. 14.**
			Bharsar hoard, *J.A.S.B.*, 1852, p. 394, Pl. XII. 2 ; *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 181 ; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 82.	
96	131·7	Æ ·75	Wheel symbol (*cakra* of Viṣṇu ?) above standard ; traces only of legend.	 ; similar. [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. VII. 15.**
97	132·5	Æ ·8	Wheel symbol (*cakra* of Viṣṇu ?) above standard ; traces only of legend.	 ; similar. [I. O. C., 1882.]
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 181, Pl. III. 2 ; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 81, Pl. I. 16.	

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
98	129·5	Æ ·8	Wheel symbol (*cakra* of Viṣṇu?) above standard; traces only of legend.	 ; similar. [I. O. C., 1882.] **Pl. VII. 16.**
			Kalighat hoard, *A.A.*, XVIII. 21, p. 426; *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 181; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 81.	
99	130·5	Æ ·75	Wheel symbol (*cakra* of Viṣṇu?) above standard; traces only of legend.	 ; similar. [I. O. C., 1882.] **Pl. VII. 17.**
			Bharsar hoard, *J.A.S.B.*, 1852, p. 394, no. 2, Pl. XII. 1; *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 181; *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 89.	
			Var. γ. King stands to r. holding bow in l. and arrow in r. hand.	
			King standing r. wearing waistcloth and ornaments only, holding bow in outstretched l. hand and arrow in r. behind him; Garuḍa standard on l.	Goddess seated as in var. β: l. hand hanging down over knee.
100	122·3	Æ ·75	between string and king.	; [I. O. C., 1882.] **Pl. VII. 18.**
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 182; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 82.	

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Var. δ. King holds bow in r. hand; standard on r.	
101	118·4	*Æ* ·7	King standing, dressed as in var. γ, head to r., holding bow in r. hand on l., l. hand on hip, Garuḍa standard on r.  between king and bow-string. Traces of above legend.	As in var. β.  ; []  (*Śrī-Vikramaḥ*) [I. O. C., 1882.] **Pl. VII. 19.**
			Bharsar hoard, *J.A.S.B.*, 1852, p. 394, Pl. XII. 3; *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 182, Pl. III. 3; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 82, Pl. II. 1.	
			Couch Type. Var. α.	
			King wearing waistcloth and jewellery, seated, head to l. on high-backed couch, holding flower in uplifted r. hand, and resting l. hand on edge of couch.  *Deva-Śrī-Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Candraguptasya.*	Goddess (Lakṣmī) seated facing on throne without back, holding lotus in uplifted l. hand, resting feet on lotus as on Class I, var. δ of Archer type; border of dots. Symbol on l. On r.  (*Śrī-Vikramaḥ*)
102	114·7	*Æ* ·8		; **Pl. VI. 8.**
			The details of acquisition of this piece are unknown; it was brought from India by Dr. Frazer and illustrated in Ouseley's *Oriental Collections*, ii, p. 435: cf. also *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 179, Pl. II. 13; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 76, Pl. I. 13.	

No.	Wt.	Metal Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Var. *β*.	
–	118·0	Æ ·8	Similar, but legend 𑀲𑀻𑀯𑀺𑀓𑁆𑀭𑀫𑀸𑀤𑀺𑀢𑁆𑀬 𑀲𑁆𑀯 𑀘 𑀭𑀸𑀚𑀸 𑀵𑀺𑀓𑁆𑀭𑀫𑀸𑀤𑀺𑀢𑁆𑀬 as var. *a* with addition of *Vikramādityasya* beneath couch 𑀭𑀽𑀧𑀸𑀓𑁃𑀢𑀻 (*rūpākṛtī*)	Similar, but legend 𑀲𑁆𑀭𑀻𑀯𑀺𑀓𑁆𑀭𑀫𑀸𑀤𑀺𑀢𑁆𑀬: (*Śrī-Vikramāditya*) on l. 𑁦 [Indian Museum.] **Pl. VI. 9.**
			J. M. Cat., i, p. 104, no. 1, Pl. XV. 10; cf. also *J.A.S.B.*, 1891. p. 117.	
			Chattra Type. I.	
			King standing l., nimbate, casting incense on altar on l. with r. hand, while l. rests on sword-hilt; behind him a dwarf attendant holds *chattra* (parasol) over him. 𑀫𑀳𑀸𑀭𑀸𑀚𑀸𑀥𑀺𑀭𑀸𑀚-𑀰𑀻-𑀘𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭-𑀕𑀼𑀧𑁆𑀢𑀲𑁆 *Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Candra-guptaḥ*	Goddess (Lakṣmī), nimbate, standing l. on lotus, holding fillet in r. and lotus in l. hand; border of dots. Symbol on l. 𑀯𑀺𑀓𑁆𑀭𑀫𑀸𑀤𑀺𑀢𑁆𑀬: (*Vikramādityaḥ*)
–	119·0	Æ ·95	𑀫𑀳𑀸𑀭𑀸[˘ – – –] 𑀕𑀼𑀧𑁆𑀢[𑀲𑁆]:	𑁦; 𑀯𑀺𑀓𑁆𑀭𑀫𑀸𑀤𑀺𑀢𑁆𑀬: [Indian Museum.]
			J. M. Cat., i, p. 109, no. 52 (R. C.), Pl. XVI. 1.	
–	—	Æ ·95	[𑀫𑀳𑀸𑀭𑀸 ˘ – – –] 𑀕𑀼𑀧𑁆𑀢𑀲𑁆:	𑁦; 𑀯𑀺𑀓𑁆𑀭𑀫𑀸𑀤𑀺𑀢𑁆𑀬: [In Dr. W. Hoey's collection.] **Pl. VIII. 1.**

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Chattra Type. II. (Different legend.)	
			Var. a.	
			King standing l., nimbate, with attendant, &c., as on Type I.	Goddess (Lakṣmī), standing facing, (rising from lotus?), holding fillet in outstretched r. hand and lotus with long stalk in l.; border of dots.
			Around	Symbol on l.
			𑀘𑀺𑀓𑁆𑀓𑀫𑀤𑀺𑀢𑁆𑀬𑁄𑀚𑀺𑀢𑁆𑀯𑀸 𑀲𑀼𑀘𑀭𑀺𑀢𑁃𑀭𑁆𑀤𑀺𑀯𑀫𑁆 𑀚𑀬𑀢𑀺 𑀯𑀺𑀓𑁆𑀭𑀫𑀸𑀤𑀺𑀢𑁆𑀬𑀃	𑀯𑀺𑀓𑁆𑀭𑀫𑀸𑀤𑀺𑀢𑁆𑀬𑀲𑁆: (*Vikramādityaḥ*)
			Kṣitim avajitya sucaritair divam jayati Vikramādityaḥ (Metre: Upagīti.)	
103	119·3	Æ ·8	𑀘𑀺𑀓𑁆𑀓𑀫𑀤𑀺𑀢𑁆𑀬𑁄𑀚𑀺𑀢𑁆𑀯𑀸	[𑁆𑀲𑁆𑀲𑁆𑀲]; [𑀯𑀺𑀓𑁆𑀭𑀫𑀸𑀤𑀺𑀢𑁆𑀬𑀲𑁆:]
				l. hand on hip.
				[Eden, 1853.]
				Pl. VIII. 2.
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 188, Pl. III. 8; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 91, Pl. II. 8.	
104	119·8	Æ ·75	[𑀘𑀺𑀓𑁆𑀓 ◡ – ◡◡◡◡ – ◡ – ◡◡◡ – ◡ – – 𑀢𑁆𑀬]	Similar.
				𑁆𑀲𑁆𑀲; [𑀯𑀺𑀓𑁆𑀭𑀫𑀸𑀤𑀺𑀢𑁆𑀬]
				[Purchased, 1902.]
				Pl. VIII. 3.
–	—	Æ ·8	𑀘𑀺𑀓𑁆𑀓𑀫𑀤𑀺𑀢𑁆𑀬𑁄𑀚𑀺𑀢𑁆𑀯𑀸	𑁆𑀲𑁆𑀲; 𑀯𑀺𑀓𑁆𑀭𑀫𑀸𑀤𑀺𑀢𑁆𑀬𑀲𑁆:
				l. hand outstretched.
				Pl. VIII. 4.
			From a plaster cast in the British Museum.	

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size	Obverse.	Reverse.
105	124·9	Æ ·75	[illegible]	Similar. [illegible]; [illegible] [H. Nelson Wright, 1912.] **Pl. VIII. 5.**
			Var. *β*.	
106	117·5	Æ ·75	King, &c., as in var. *α*. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	Goddess (Lakṣmī) standing l. on pedestal (altar?), holding fillet in outstretched r. and lotus in l. hand resting on hip behind her; border of dots. [illegible]; [illegible] [Eden, 1853.] **Pl. VIII. 6.**
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 188; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, Pl. II. 7, p. 91.	
			Var. *γ*.	
107	120·4	Æ ·75	King, &c., as in var. *α*. [illegible] [illegible]	Goddess (Lakṣmī) standing three-quarters to l., holding fillet in outstretched r. hand and lotus behind in l.; border of dots. [illegible]; [illegible] (*Vikramādityaḥ*) [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. VIII. 7.**
			From Cawnpore.	
			Var. *δ*.	
108	124·7	Æ ·8	King, &c., as in var. *α*. [illegible]	Goddess (Lakṣmī) as in var. *γ*, but walking to l.; border of dots. [illegible]; [illegible] [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. VIII. 8.**

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
–	120·3	*Æ* ·75	[illegible]	[illegible]; [illegible] [In Mr. W. E. M. Campbell's collection.] **Pl. VIII. 9.**
			Var. *ε*.	
–	120·0	*Æ* ·75	King, &c., as in var. *α*. [illegible]	Goddess walking to l., holding lotus in outstretched r. hand, while l. hand hangs by her side; border of dots. Probably without symbol. [illegible] (*Vikkramādityaḥ*) [In Mr. W. E. M. Campbell's collection.] **Pl. VIII. 10.**

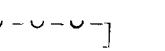
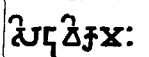
No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Lion-slayer Type. Class I.	
			King standing r. or l., wearing waistcloth with sash which floats behind him, turban or ornamental head-dress, and jewellery, shooting with bow at lion which falls backwards and trampling on lion with one foot.	Goddess (Lakṣmī - Ambikā) seated, nimbate, facing, on lion couchant to l. or r., holding fillet in outstretched r. hand and cornucopiae in l. on var. *a* and *β*; lotus on other varieties: border of dots. Symbol on l.
			(*Narendracandra(ḥ) prathita* ⏑ – *divaṁ jayaty-ajeyo bhuvi siṁhavikramaḥ*) (Metre: Vaṁśasthavila.)	(*Siṁhavikramaḥ*)
			Var. *a*. King to r., rev. cornucopiae in l. arm.	
109	119·7	*A* ·8	– ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – [ ]	Goddess as above, cornucopiae in l. arm; lion l. ; [ ] [Purchased, 1911.] **Pl. VIII. 11.**
110	111·4	*A* ·75	Legend uncertain: perhaps different from above; includes (*Candra*) on l.	[ ]; [Swiney, 1869.] **Pl. VIII. 12.**

J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 186, Pl. III. 6; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 89, Pl. II. 5; *ibid.*, 1893, p. 111.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Var. *β*. As above, but king to l.	
–	121·3	*Æ* ·8	[– ⏑ – – 𑀬 ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –] [– ⏑ – –]𑀮𑀥𑀭[𑀥]𑁆𑀢𑀸:	As var. *α*, but lion r. 𑀭𑀸𑀚; 𑀫𑀭𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀢 [Lucknow Museum.] **Pl. VIII. 13.**
			Mirzapur hoard, *N.C.*, 1910, p. 405, no. 34, Pl. XIV. 12.	
–	120·5	*Æ* ·9	𑀓	𑁇 𑁈 [– – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –] 𑀐𑀡𑁇𑀐𑀮𑀓𑀧𑀭𑁆𑀤𑀸𑀢𑁆𑀢:	Lion l. [𑀭𑀸]; 𑀫𑀭𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀢: [Bodleian, no. 726.]
			N.C., 1891, Pl. II. 9, p. 62.	
			Var. *γ*. King r.; goddess has lotus instead of cornucopiae.	
111	120·9	*Æ* ·8	𑀓	𑁇 𑁈 𑁉 𑀬 [⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –] 𑀐𑀡𑁇𑀐𑀮𑀓𑀧𑀭𑁆𑀤𑀸𑀢𑁆𑀢:	Goddess seated facing on lion couchant to l., holding lotus in l. hand and r. hand outstretched as on preceding, but empty; lion l. 𑀭𑀸; [𑀫]𑀭𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀢: (*Siṅhavikkramaḥ*) [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. VIII. 14.**
112	115·4	*Æ* ·75	𑀓	𑁇 𑁈 𑁉 [– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –] [⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –]𑁆𑀢𑀸:	𑀭𑀸; 𑀫𑀭𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀢 [Swiney, 1869.] **Pl. VIII. 15.**
			A.A., p. 423, Pl. XVIII. 5; *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 184, Pl. III. 5; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 87, Pl. II. 4.	
			There is a specimen of this variety in St. Petersburg, and there were three specimens in the Mirzapur hoard, *N.C.*, 1910, p. 404, nos. 27–9, Pl. XIV. 8.	

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Var. δ. As preceding, but goddess holds fillet and lion is walking to r.	
–	120·4	*N* ·95	Similar to preceding, but arrow in lion's body.	Goddess holding fillet in r. and lotus in l. hand, seated facing on lion, which is walking to r.
			[illegible]	[illegible] ; [illegible]
				[Indian Museum.]
				Pl. VIII. 16.
			I. M. Cat., vol. i, p. 108, no. 49, Pl. XV. 17.	
–	—	*N* ·95	[illegible]	As preceding, but head of goddess to r.
				[illegible] ; [illegible]
				Pl. VIII. 17.
			From a plaster cast in the British Museum.	
			Var. ε. King r.; goddess astride of lion to l.	
113	118·5	*N* ·8	As preceding.	Goddess seated to l. astride of lion, holding lotus in r. hand in front of her; l. hand rests on lion's haunch. No symbol.
			[illegible]	[illegible]
				[H. Nelson Wright, 1910.]
				Pl. IX. 1.

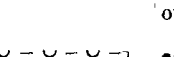
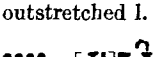
[1] Cf. note 1, p. 29.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
–	121·0	Æ ·8		 [Lucknow Museum.] Pl. IX. 2.

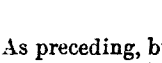
Mirzapur hoard, *N.C.*, 1910, p. 404, no. 30, Pl. XIV. 9.

Another specimen of this variety was in the Clive-Bayley collection: *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 87; two specimens from the Rivett-Carnac collection in the Indian Museum are mentioned in *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 110, but are not noted as such in the *I. M. Cat.*

Var. ζ. King l.; goddess holds lotus and fillet.

114	121·2	Æ ·85	King to l. shooting lion, as on preceding coins, but he does not trample on lion. 	Goddess seated facing on lion couchant l., holding fillet in outstretched r. and lotus in outstretched l. hand.  [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] Pl. IX. 3.

From Fyzabad.

115	119·4	Æ ·75		As preceding, but l. hand with lotus rests on hip.  [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] Pl. IX. 4.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
116	120·2	*Æ* ·8	[illegible]	[illegible]; [illegible] (*-vikramaḥ*) [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. IX. 5.**

The workmanship of the obverse of this coin is remarkable: the reverse closely resembles Pl. VIII. 7, Pl. IX. 9, 14–17.

–	120·2	*Æ* ·75	[illegible]	[illegible]; [illegible] [Lucknow Museum.] **Pl. IX. 6.**

Mirzapur hoard, *N.C.*, 1910, p. 405, no. 32, Pl. XIV. 11.

There were two other specimens of this variety in the Mirzapur hoard (nos. 31 and 33) and there is a specimen in Berlin and another in St. Petersburg.

Var. *η*. King standing to r.

117	121·0	*Æ* ·8	King standing to r., wearing waistcloth only (without sash) as on preceding coins, shooting lion which falls back from its leap.	Goddess seated, holding lotus only (r. hand empty), facing, on lion (l.), as on var. *γ*.

[illegible]; [illegible] [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. IX. 7.**

From Lucknow.

118	120·8	*Æ* ·7	[illegible]	[illegible]; [illegible] [Barstow, 1892.] **Pl. IX. 8.**

J.R.A.S., 1893, p. 112, Pl. III. 3.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
–	—	*N* ·75	[illegible]	Goddess holds fillet in r., as in var. ζ. [illegible]; [illegible] [St. Petersburg.] **Pl. IX. 9.**

Var. *θ*. Lion retreating.

–	125·5	*N* ·8	King standing r. as above, with l. foot on back of lion which retreats with head turned back, shooting at it with bow in l. hand. No trace of legend.	Goddess seated facing, as on no. 117. [illegible]; [illegible] [Bodleian, no. 724.]

N.C., 1891, p. 63, Pl. II. 8.

Class II. (Different legend.)

			King standing to r., shooting lion which falls back, wearing waistcloth with long sashes behind.	Goddess seated facing, on lion couchant l., with head turned back; she holds lotus in uplifted l. hand and holds r. outstretched empty; border of dots.
			Legend uncertain, possibly (*Nare*)*ndrasiṁha-Candragupta*(*ḥ*) *prth*(*ivīm jī*)*tvā di*(*vaṁ jayati*).	Above, on l., [illegible] [illegible] (*Siṁhacandraḥ*)
119	127·2	*N* ·85	[illegible]	[illegible] [Purchased, 1910.] **Pl. IX. 10.**

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Class III. (Lion retreating.)	
			Var. *α*.	
			King standing l., wearing waistcloth and jewellery, holding bow in r. hand and arrow in l.; lion on l. retreating.	Goddess seated facing on lion couchant l., holding fillet in outstretched r. hand and lotus in l. which rests on hip; border of dots. Symbol on l.
			(*Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Candraguptaḥ*)	(*Śrī-Siṁhavikramaḥ*) separated by perpendicular line from type.
120	123·0	*Æ* ·95	[X]ⵔⵔⵑⵑⵑ [ ]	; [Prinsep.]
				Pl. IX. 11.
			'Obtained in Kanauj by Lt. Conolly,' *P.E.*, i, Pl. XXIII. 25; Th. *Rec.*, p. 22, Pl. I. 8; *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 187, Pl. III. 7; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 90, Pl. II. 6.	
			Var. *β*.	
			Similar to preceding, but king wears sash and legend is fuller.	Similar, but goddess holds lotus in uplifted l. hand and the lion is walking to r.; border of dots. Symbol on l.
			(*Deva-Śrī-Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Candraguptaḥ*)	(*Siṁhavikramaḥ*)
–	122·0	*Æ* ·8	[E] [ ]	; [ ]
				[Lucknow Museum.]
				Pl. IX. 12.
			Mirzapur hoard, *N.C.*, 1910, p. 406, no. 35, Pl. XIV. 13.	

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Class IV. (Swordsman.)	
–	121·2	*N* ·8	King standing r., with l. foot on lion which retreats with head turned snapping at the king as he strikes at it with sword in uplifted r. hand. Legend as in Class *I*.	Goddess seated facing on lion couchant r., holding fillet in outstretched l. and lotus in outstretched r. hand, as on no. 114.
			[Lucknow Museum.]	
			Pl. IX. 13.	
			Mirzapur hoard, *N.C.*, 1910, p. 406, Pl. XIV. 14.	
			Horseman Type.	
			King, riding on fully caparisoned horse to r. or l.; his dress includes waistcloth with long sashes which fly behind him, and jewellery (ear-rings, armlets, necklace, &c.): on some specimens he has a bow in l. hand, on others he has sword at l. side.	Goddess seated to l. on wicker stool, holding fillet in outstretched r. hand and lotus with leaves and roots behind her in l.: border of dots. Var. *α*, with symbol on l. Var. *β*, without symbol.
			(*Paramabhāgavata-mahārāja-dhirāja-Śrī-Candraguptaḥ*) or (*bhāgavato*)	(*Ajitavikramaḥ*) or (*Ajitavikkramaḥ*)
			Var. *α*. With symbol.	
121	120·4	*A*⁵ ·8	King to r.	Lotus has long stalk with leaves.
			[H. Nelson Wright, 1910.]	
			Pl. IX. 14.	

[1] Cf. note 1, p. 29.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
122	118·2	Æ ·75	King to l. with sword at waist on l. [illegible]	[illegible]; [illegible]: [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] Pl. IX. 15.
123	119·1	Æ ·75	Similar. [illegible]	[illegible]; [illegible]: [Cunningham, 1894.] Pl. IX. 16.
–	120·9	Æ ·8	Similar. [illegible]	[illegible]; [illegible]: [Lucknow Museum.] Pl. IX. 17.
124	127·6	Æ ·75	King to l., nimbate, without sword and wearing waistcloth only. [illegible]	[illegible]; [illegible]: [Barstow, 1892.] Pl. X. 1.

Mirzapur hoard, *N.C.*, 1910, p. 402, no. 19, Pl. XIV. 4.

Another specimen, identical with nos. 122–3, is in the Bodleian (no. 710); *N.C.*, 1891, Pl. II. 5.

Cf. *N.C.*, 1891, p. 58, no. 64; *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 109.

J.R.A.S., 1893, p. 109.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
125	120·3	Æ ·75	Similar, but not nimbate. [⏑⏑⏑–⏑⏑⏑⏑–––⏑––] [illegible]	[illegible]; [illegible] [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] Pl. X. 2.
			N.C., 1891, p. 58, no. 64.	
126	120·0	Æ ·75	King to r., crescent behind head. [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]; [illegible] [Barstow, 1892.] Pl. X. 3.
–	—	Æ ·85	Similar.	Lotus has short stalk. [illegible]; [illegible] [St. Petersburg.] Pl. X. 4.
127	118·8	Æ ·75	Similar. [illegible]	Similar. [illegible]; [illegible] [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] Pl. X. 5.
128	120·7	Æ ·75	King l., nimbate, holding bow in l. hand and wearing sword on l. [illegible]	Lotus has long stalk without leaves. [illegible]; [illegible] [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] Pl. X. 6.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size	Obverse.	Reverse.
–	119·8	*N* ·75	Similar. [illegible]	Lotus has long stalk without leaves. [illegible] [Lucknow Museum.] **Pl. X. 7.**
			Mirzapur hoard, *N.C.*, 1910. p. 403, no. 21, Pl. XIV. 5.	
–	120·6	*N* ·8	King r. holding bow in l. hand. [illegible]	[illegible] [Lucknow Museum.] **Pl. X. 8.**
			Mirzapur hoard, *N.C.*, 1910, p. 403, no. 22, Pl. XIV. 6.	
			Var. *β*. Without symbol.	
129	123·6	*N* ·8	King r. holding bow in l. hand. [illegible]	Goddess seated as before, holding fillet and lotus with short stalk. [illegible] [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. X. 9.**
130	119·5	*N* ·75	King r. without bow; crescent behind head. [illegible]	[illegible] [Da Cuñha Sale, lot 826, 1889.] **Pl. X. 10.**
			J.R.A.S., 1893, p. 109.	
131	119·7	*N* ·75	[illegible]	[illegible] [Prinsep.] **Pl. X. 11.**
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 183, Pl. III. 4; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 84, Pl. II. 3.	

No.	Wt.	Metal Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
132	118·6	Æ ·75	Similar.	[Prinsep.]
			Pl. X. 12.	
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 84.	
–	—	Æ ·8	King to l., but without sword.	[St. Petersburg.]
			Pl. X. 13.	

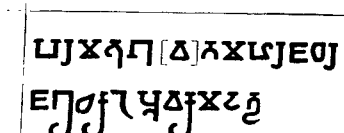
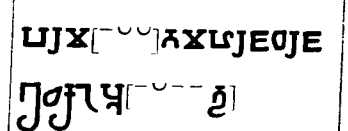
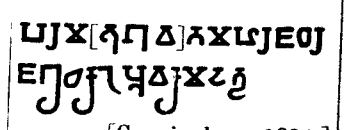
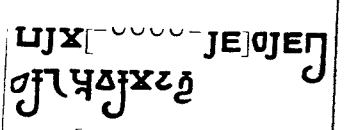
Silver.

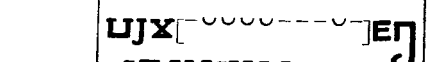
(For Western provinces.)

Var. *a*. *Vikramāditya*.

	Bust to r., as on Kṣatrapa coins, with traces of Greek letters. On l. **ड** *va*(*rṣe*) and date in Brāhmī numerals.	Garuḍa standing facing, with outspread wings; above on r. cluster of seven dots. Border of dots. (*Paramabhāgavata-mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Candragupta-Vikramāditya*(*ḥ*)
133	28·8	AR ·55	**ड** = 90(+*x*?)	[Ḥ. Nelson Wright, 1910.]
				Pl. X. 14.

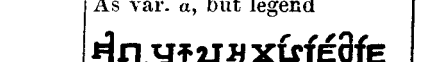
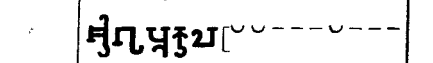
[1] The *akṣaras ndra* and *kr* are indistinguishable on these coins; this led Mr. Newton, who first published this type, to read the name as Bakragupta.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
134	31·0	Æ ·6	 = 90(+*x*?)	 [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.] **Pl. X. 15.**
135	26·8	Æ ·55		 [Bird, 1854.] **Pl. X. 16.**
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 121, Pl. IV. 1.	
136	30·0	Æ ·55	 = 90(+*x*?)	 [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. X. 17.**
			Cf. C., *A.S.R.*, ix, p. 23, Pl. V. 2 and 3; *I.A.*, xiv, p. 66.	
137	30·7	Æ ·55	 on r.	 [Pres. by Miss Newton.] **Pl. X. 18.**
			Newton, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, vii, p. 11, fig. 12; Th. *Rec.*, p. 48, no. xii; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 122.	

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
138	28·5	Æ ·5	 on r.	 [Cunningham, 1894.] Pl. X. 19.
139	29·0	Æ ·5	[1]	 [Cunningham, 1894.] Pl. X. 20.

Cf. C., *C.M.I.*, Pl. II. 9, p. 20, from Ayodhyā.

Var. *β*. *Vikramāṅka*.

			As var. *α*.	As var. *α*, but legend  *Śrī-Guptakulasya mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Candragupta-Vikramāṅkasya.*
140	30·8	Æ ·5	No trace of inscr.	 [Cunningham, 1894.] Pl. X. 21.

Cf. C., *A.S.R.*, ix, p. 23, Pl. V. 1; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 120.

There is another and finer specimen of this variety in Dr. Hoey's collection; there were two in the Clive-Bayley (*J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 120) and one in the Freeling (*P.E.*, ii, p. 94; Th. *R.*, p. 49; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 120) collections.

[1] According to Cunningham this piece has the numeral for 80 in front of the face; what he read as a numeral is merely a degraded copy of the Greek letters on the Kṣatrapa coins; the numeral is always on l. behind the head.

23359

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Copper Coins.	
			Type I.	
			Bust of king to l., wearing necklace, ear-rings, and armlets, holding flower in uplifted r. hand.	Garuḍa, nimbate, standing facing with outspread wings; without arms. Below, 𑀰𑀺𑀫𑀳𑀸𑀭𑀸𑀚𑀲𑁆𑀶𑀻𑀕𑀼𑀧𑁆𑀢𑀲𑁆: (*Mahārāja-Candraguptaḥ*)
141	87·0	Æ ·9		Inscription illegible. [Cunningham.] **Pl. X. 22.**
			From Ahicchatra; *C.M.I.*, Pl. II. 8, p. 19.	
–	—	Æ ·9		𑀰𑀺𑀫𑀳𑀸𑀭𑀸𑀚𑀲𑁆𑀶𑀻[𑀕𑀼𑀧𑁆𑀢] **Pl. XI. 1.**
			From the Jhelum district; *J.A.S.B.*, 1894, p. 173, Pl. VI. 11; then in the collection of J. P. Rawlins, Esq., F.R.G.S. It was sold with the rest of his coins at Amsterdam in February, 1907: *Cat.*, Pl. II, no. 793.	
			Type II (*Chattra* Type).	
			Var. *a*.	
			King standing l., apparently casting incense on altar with r. hand as on similar gold coins; behind him a dwarf attendant holding *chattra* (parasol) over him.	Garuḍa standing facing with outspread wings and human arms with bracelets. 𑀰𑀺𑀫𑀳𑀸𑀭𑀸𑀚𑀰𑁆𑀶𑀻𑀕𑀼𑀧𑁆𑀢𑀲𑁆: (*Mahārāja-Śrī-Candraguptaḥ*)
142	57·5	Æ ·85		[𑀫𑀳𑀸][𑀕𑀼𑀧𑁆𑀢] [Clive-Bayley, 1889.] **Pl. XI. 2.**

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
143	75·7	Æ ·85		[Garuḍa][Śrī Candra][gupta] [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. XI. 3.**

J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 139, Pl. IV. 9.

Var. *β*.

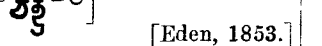
			As preceding.	As preceding, but Garuḍa is without human arms.
144	64·4	Æ ·75		[illegible] [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. XI. 4.**
145	101·5	Æ ·75		[illegible][Garuḍa] [Cunningham, 1894.]

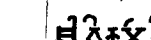
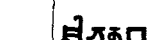
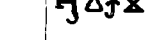
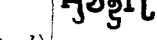
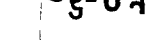
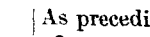
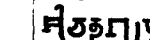
J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 139.

146	36·5 *broken)*	Æ ·8		[illegible][illegible][illegible] [Cunningham, 1894.]
147	47·0	Æ ·6		[illegible][illegible][illegible] [Eden, 1853.]

J.R.A.S., 1889. p. 139.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Type III.	
			King standing l. (three-quarter length), l. hand behind on hip, r. outstretched, possibly casting incense on altar.	Garuḍa standing facing, wings outspread: border of dots.
				श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तः (*Śrī-Candraguptaḥ*)
148	49·5	Æ ·7		[ ]चन्द्रगुप्तः [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. XI. 5.**
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 139: *A.C.*, 3.	
149	35·7	Æ ·65		[श्री]चन्द्रगुप्त [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. XI. 6.**
			Ibid.; *A.C.*, 5.	
150	38·8	Æ ·65		[ ]चन्द्रगु[प्त] [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.]
151	37·0	Æ ·65		[श्री]चं[ग्ु ◡] [Prinsep, 1847.]
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 139.	
152	44·8	Æ ·6		[ ]चन्द्रगुप्त [Cunningham, 1894.]
			Ibid.; *A.C.*, 4.	

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
153	53·7	Æ ·65		 [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. XI. 7.**
			Ibid.; *A.C.*, 1.	
154	29·0	Æ ·6		 [I. O. C., 1882.]
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 139, Pl. IV. 1.	
155	21·2	Æ ·6		 [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. XI. 8.**
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 140; *A.C.*, 7.	
156	25·4	Æ ·55		 [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. XI. 9.**
157	18·0	Æ ·55		 [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.]
158	18·7	Æ ·5		 [Cunningham, 1894.]
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 140; *A.C.*, 8.	
159	18·0	Æ ·8		 [Eden, 1853.]

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Type IV.	
			Bust of king nimbate (half-length) to l., holding flower in r.	Garuḍa, nimbate, standing facing; border of dots.
			 (*Śrī-Vikramādityaḥ*)	 (*Śrī-Candraguptaḥ*)
160	44·0	Æ ·75		 [Prinsep, 1847.]
				Pl. XI. 10.
			P.E., i, Pl. XXX. 13, p. 373; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 140, Pl. IV. 12.	
			Type V.	
			As preceding, but l. arm folded on breast and without legend in exergue.	Garuḍa standing facing, with outspread wings, on altar, holding snake in mouth; border of dots.
				 (*Candraguptaḥ*)
161	40·5	Æ ·6		 [Major Hay.]
				Pl. XI. 11.
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 140, Pl. IV. 13.	
			There are two specimens of this variety in Berlin.	
			Type VI.	
			As preceding.	As preceding, but no altar.
				 (*Śrī-Candraguptaḥ*)
162	27·0	Æ ·65		 [Prinsep, 1847.]
				Pl. XI. 12.
			P.E., i, Pl. XXX. 15, p. 374.	

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Type VII.	
			Bust of king l.; on the smaller coins head only.	Garuḍa standing facing, holding snake.
163	28·0	Æ ·55		𑀕𑁆𑀭𑀼𑀢𑀧𑀼𑀲𑁆: (*Candraguptaḥ*) 𑀕𑁆𑀭𑀼𑀢𑀧𑀼[𑀲𑁆] [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. XI. 13.**
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 141, Pl. IV. 14.	
164	28·2	Æ ·55		𑀕𑁆𑀭𑀼𑀢𑀧𑀼𑀲𑁆 [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. XI. 14.**
165	19·3	Æ ·55		𑀕𑁆𑀭𑀼𑀢𑀧𑀼[𑁄] [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. XI. 15.**
166	20·0	Æ ·55		[̄]𑀕𑁆𑀭𑀼𑀢𑀧𑀼𑀲𑁆 [Eden, 1853.] **Pl. XI. 16.**
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 141.	
167	12·3	Æ ·55		𑀕𑁆𑀭𑀼𑀢𑀧𑀼[𑁄] [Cunningham, 1894.]
168	15·8	Æ ·45		[̄]𑀕𑁆[̄𑀲𑁆] [Cunningham, 1894.]

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
169	20·0	Æ ·55	Similar.	ग[ ]प्त [Cunningham, 1894.]
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 141 ; *A.C.*, 4.	
170	16·4	Æ ·4		गङ्प्त [Cunningham, 1894.]
171	21·4	Æ ·5		गङ्प[प्त] [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. XI. 17.**
			Ibid. ; *A.C.*, 3.	
172	17·5	Æ ·45		गङ्प[ ] [Cunningham, 1894.]
			Ibid. ; *A.C.*, 6.	
173	18·0	Æ ·55		[गङ्पप्त] [Prinsep, 1847.]
174	18·0	Æ ·5		[ग]ङ्पप्त [Cunningham, 1894.]
			Ibid. : *A.C.*, 5.	
175	12·4	Æ ·5		[गङ्] [Cunningham, 1894.]
176	12·7	Æ ·4		[ ]ङ्पप्त [Cunningham, 1894.]
			Ibid. ; *A.C.*, 9, Pl. IV. 15.	

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
177	10·9	Æ ·4	Similar.	[Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. XI. 18.**
178	11·0	Æ ·4		[Eden, 1853.]
179	11·3	Æ ·4		[Eden, 1853.]
180	10·0	Æ ·4		[Eden, 1853.] **Pl. XI. 19.**
181	4·2	Æ ·35		[Cunningham, 1894.]

Ibid.; *A.C.*, 16.

Type VIII.

				Garuḍa facing, as on preceding types.
			(*Śrī-Candra-*)	(*-guptaḥ*)
182	8·5	Æ ·4		[H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. XI. 20.**

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Type IX.	
			(*Candra*) surmounted by a crescent; border of dots.	Flower-vase (*kalaśa*) with flowers which hang down the sides of the pot; border of dots.
183	18·0	Æ ·4		[Cunningham, ?] **Pl. XI. 21.**
			J.A.S.B., xxxiv, p. 125, Pl. XVIII. 20; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 143.	
184	12·1	Æ ·4		[Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. XI. 22.**
185	10·6	Æ ·4	[]	[Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. XI. 23.**
186	7·6	Æ ·4		[Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. XI. 24.**
			J.R.A.S., 1894, p. 143, Pl. IV. 16.	
187	5·4	Æ ·35	[]	[Cunningham, 1894.]
			Ibid.; *A.C.*, 2.	
188	9·2	Æ ·35	[]	[Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. XI. 25.**
189	3·3	Æ ·35	[]	[Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. XI. 26.**
			Ibid.; *A.C.*, 3.	

No.	Wt.	Metal Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			KUMĀRAGUPTA I, A.D. 414–55.	
			Archer Type.	
			Var. *a*.	
			King standing, nimbate, to l., holding arrow in r. hand and bow in l., as on 'Archer' type of Candragupta II, bowstring inwards. Garuḍa standard on l. ꠇ (*Ku*) with crescent above beneath l. arm.	Goddess, nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding fillet in outstretched r. hand and lotus in l. which rests on hip; border of dots. Symbol on l.
			𑀓𑀺𑀢𑀸𑀯𑀦𑀺𑀭𑀯𑀦𑀺𑀧𑀢𑀺𑀃𑁇𑀓𑀼 𑀫𑀸𑀕𑀼𑀧𑁆𑀢𑁄 𑀤𑀺𑀯𑀁 𑀚𑀬𑀢𑀺 (*Vijitāvanir avanipatiḥ Kumāragupto divaṁ jayati*) (Metre: Upagīti.)	𑀲𑁆𑀭𑀻𑀫𑀳𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭𑀃 (*Śrī-Mahendraḥ*)
190	124·7	*N* ·8	𑀓 𑀬𑀦𑀤𑀕𑀼[∪ ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – ¯𑀭]𑀤𑀬 𑀓	𑀮𑀼 ; 𑀲𑁆𑀭𑀻𑀫𑀳𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭 [Eden, 1853.] **Pl. XII. 1.**
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 190, Pl. III. 10: *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 96, Pl. II. 10.	
191	106·7 (*much worn*)	*N* ·75	Initial 𑀓 only legible.	[𑀮] ; 𑀲𑁆𑀭𑀻𑀫𑀳[ᵕ] [Prinsep. 1847.]
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 190: *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 96.	
–	—	*N* ·75	𑀓 𑀬𑀦𑀤𑀕𑀼𑀤𑀓	𑀮𑀼 ; 𑀲𑁆𑀭𑀻𑀫𑀳𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭 [St. Petersburg.] **Pl. XII. 2.**
			'From Oudh'; formerly in the Grant collection; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 96, var. γ.	

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
–	—	Æ ·75	[illegible]	[illegible]; [illegible] [Bibl. Nat.] Pl. XII. 3.

'From Oudh'; formerly in Mr. Vincent A. Smith's collection.

There is another specimen of this variety in St. Petersburg (White King, no. 5412).

Var. β.

			As preceding, but legend (uncertain) begins [illegible] (*Jayati mahītalam*) on r. and ends [illegible] (*Kumāragu)ptaḥ* on l.	Goddess seated as on preceding, but r. hand empty; border of dots. Symbol [illegible], and below on l. [illegible] [illegible] (*Śrī-Mahendraḥ*)
192	124·3	Æ ·7	[illegible] on r.; [illegible] on l.	[illegible] [Cunningham, 1894.] Pl. XII. 4.

J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 96; *A.C.* This is not the coin from Gaya, figured in *P.E.*, i, Pl. XXIX. 20, p. 371, as then in Cunningham's collection. It is probably from the Bharsar hoard: *J.A.S.B.*, 1852, p. 397, no. 2.

193	125·8	Æ ·75	[illegible] on r.; [illegible] on l.	[illegible] [I. O. C., 1882.] Pl. XII. 5.

J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 96, I. O.; probably from the Bharsar hoard: *J.A.S.B.*, 1852, p. 397, no. 4.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
–	—	Æ ·75	on r.	

A.A., Pl. XVIII. 12.

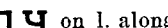
This coin seems identical with *P.E.*, i, Pl. XXIX. 20, but, from Wilson's note on it, cannot be the same coin.

Var. γ.

			As preceding, but legend (uncertain) begins *Jayati mahītalam* on r., and includes (*Ku*)-*māragupta* on l.; uncertain *akṣara* above Garuḍa.	Goddess seated facing on lotus, holding lotus with long stalk and leaves in r. hand, while l. rests empty on knee; border of dots. No symbol.
–	125·5	Æ ·75	on r.; on l. along arrow; uncertain *akṣara* above Garuḍa.	(*Śrī-Mahendraḥ*) [Bodleian, no. 714.]

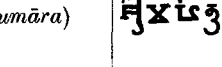
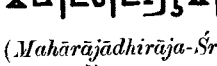
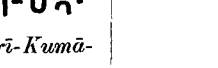
N.C., 1891, Pl. II. 11, p. 63.

Var. δ.

			King l. as before, without *Ku* under l. arm. Garuḍa standard on l. (*Parama-rājādhirāja-Śrī-Kumāraguptaḥ*)	Goddess seated facing, holding fillet and lotus as on var. α and β; border of dots. Symbol on l. (*Śrī-Mahendraḥ*)
194	125·4	Æ ·75		 [Barstow, 1892.] **Pl. XII. 6.**

J.R.A.S., 1893, p. 116, Pl. III. 4.

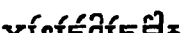
There are three specimens of this variety in the Indian Museum (*Cat.*, i, p. 111, nos. 2–4) and one in Lucknow (Mirzapur hoard, *N.C.*, 1910, p. 408, no. 40).

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Var. *e*.	
			King l. as before, but wearing waistcloth and jewellery only. Garuḍa standard on l.	As preceding, but l. arm outstretched holding lotus; border of dots. Symbol on l.
			 below l. arm (*Kumāra*)   (*Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Kumāraguptaḥ*)	 (*Śrī-Mahendraḥ*)
195	123·5	*N* ·85		 [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] Pl. XII. 7.
			Formerly Wilmot Lane; *N.C.*, 1891, pp. 58, 64; *J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 117.	
—	—	*N* ·85		 [Bibl. Nat.]

The three specimens of this variety from the Rivett-Carnac collection (*J.R.A.S.*, 1893, pp. 116–17) are now in the Indian Museum (*Cat.*, i, p. 112, nos. 8–10).

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Var. ζ.	
			King standing l. as on var. α, with arrow in r. hand but holding bow in l. by middle with bowstring outwards. Garuḍa standard on l.  (*Kumāra*) on r. outside bow.    (?) (*Guṇeśo* (?) *mahītalaṁ jayati Kumāra* (?)) on r.; no trace of remainder on any known specimens.	Goddess (Lakṣmī) seated facing on lotus as in var. α; border of dots. Symbol on l.         (*Śrī-Mahendraḥ*)
196	118·2	Æ ·75	               ?	; [ ] [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. XII. 8.**
197	117·8	Æ ·75		Goddess, nimbate, holds lotus in uplifted l. hand. ; [Barstow, 1892.] **Pl. XII. 9.**

J.R.A.S., 1893, p. 117, Pl. III. 5.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Var. η.	
			As preceding, but legend  as in var. ϵ.	Goddess (Lakṣmī), nimbate, &c., as on preceding coin.
198	121·4	Æ ·75		[Young, 1837.] **Pl. XII. 10.**
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 191 ; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 97 (wrongly called I. O.).	
199	119·5	Æ ·7	[] on r.	Goddess not nimbate. [Young, 1837.] **Pl. XII. 11.**
			Ibid	
200	123·5	Æ ·75	Legend off flan.	Similar.  ; legend off flan. [I. O., 1882.] **Pl. XII. 12.**
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 191, Pl. III. 11 ; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 97, Pl. II. 11.	
–	120·5	Æ ·75	[]	Similar. [] ; [Bodleian, no. 719.]
			N.C., 1891, p. 62.	

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Swordsman Type.	
			King standing l., nimbate, wearing waistcloth and jewellery, casting incense with r. hand on altar on l., while l. hand rests on hilt of sword at his side. Garuḍa standard on l.	Goddess (Lakṣmī), nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding fillet in outstretched r. hand and lotus in l. which rests on hip; border of dots. Symbol on l.
			𑀓 surmounted by crescent on r. 𑀕𑀸𑀫𑀅𑀚𑀺𑀢𑁆𑀬 𑀲𑀼𑀘𑀭𑀺𑀢𑁃𑀸[𑁂]𑀓𑀼 𑀫𑀸𑀭𑀕𑀼𑀧𑁄 𑀤𑀺𑀯𑀁 𑀚𑀬𑀢𑀺 (*Gām avajitya sucaritaiḥ Kumāragupto divaṁ jayati*) (Metre: Upagīti.)	𑀰𑀓𑀼𑀫𑀸𑀭𑀕𑀼𑀧𑁃: (*Śrī-Kumāraguptaḥ*)
201	124·2	Æ ·8	𑀓𑀅𑀚𑀺𑀢𑁆𑀬𑀲𑀼𑀘𑀭𑀺𑀢𑁃𑀸𑀓𑀼 [𑁂 𑀫𑀸𑀭𑀕𑀼𑀧𑁄 𑀤𑀺𑀯𑀁 𑀚𑀬𑀢𑀺]	𑁆𑀰𑁆; 𑀰𑀓𑀼𑀫𑀸𑀭𑀕𑀼𑀧𑀫 [Prinsep, 1847.] **Pl. XII. 15.**
			Th. *Rec.*, Pl. 5, p. 23; *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 189, Pl. III. 9; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 93, Pl. II. 9.	
202	125·0	Æ ·75	𑀓𑀅𑀚𑀺𑀢𑁆𑀬[𑁆𑁆𑁆𑁆𑁆𑁆𑁆] 𑀓𑀫𑀸𑀭𑀕𑀼𑀧𑁄 𑀤𑀺	𑁆𑀰𑁆; 𑀰𑀓𑀼𑀫𑀸𑀭𑀕[𑀫] [Spink, 1912.] **Pl. XII. 16.**
–	*ringed*	Æ ·75	𑀓𑀅𑀚𑀺𑀢𑁆𑀬𑀲[𑁆𑁆𑁆𑁆𑁆𑁆𑁆 𑁆𑁆𑁆𑁆𑁆𑁆𑁆

No	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
–	124·1	Æ ·8	[illegible]	[illegible]; [illegible] [In Mr. W. E. M. Campbell's collection.] Pl. XII. 18.
–	124·5	Æ ·8	[illegible]	[illegible]; [illegible] [Bodleian, no. 717.]

Said by General Cunningham to have been found with no. 201 in the Ganges on the site of Pāṭaliputra: *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 94; *ibid.*, 1893, p. 114; *N.C.*, 1891, p. 63, Pl. II. 10.

There is a sixth specimen of this type in the Lucknow Museum.

Aśvamedha Type.

			Horse standing r., wearing breastband and saddle, before sacrificial pole (*yūpa*) on altar, the pennons from which fly over its back. Legend uncertain.	Queen standing l., nimbate, holding *chowrie* over r. shoulder and uncertain object in l. hand, wearing ear-rings, necklace, armlets, and anklets. On l. is a sacrificial spear bound with fillets; border of dots. No symbol. [illegible] (*Śrī Aśvamedhamahendraḥ*)
203	124·5	Æ ·75	On l. [illegible] (*Jayati divaṁ Kumāra*)?	[illegible] [Cunningham, 1894.] Pl. XII. 13.

'Obtained at Mathura'; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 110, Pl. III. 5.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
–	128·8 (*with ring*)	*Æ* ·75	Between legs of horse 𑍍𑍐 ((*a*)*śvamedha*)?	[𑍍]𑍋𑍍𑍐𑍋𑍌𑍂𑍄 [In Mr. W. E. M. Campbell's collection.] **Pl. XII. 14.**

Horseman Type. Class I.

Var. *a.*

			King riding to r. on fully caparisoned horse. 𑍍𑍃𑍇𑍋𑍐𑍌[𑍊𑍊𑍊𑍊𑍊] 𑍊𑍂𑍇𑍌𑍐𑍍𑍃𑍋𑍄: (*Pṛthivītalam* ⏑ – – – – ⏑ *divaṁ jayaty-ajitaḥ*) (Metre: Upagīti.)	Goddess (Lakṣmī) seated to l. on wicker stool, holding lotus with long stalk and leaves in outstretched r. hand, while l. rests by her side. No symbol. 𑍋𑍃𑍋𑍌𑍂𑍄: (*Ajitamahendraḥ*)
204	126·7	*Æ* ·8	𑍍𑍃 – 𑍋𑍐𑍌 ⏑ – – – – – ⏑ ⏑ – 𑍃[𑍐]𑍍𑍃𑍋:	𑍋𑍃𑍋𑍌𑍂𑍄: [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. XIII. 1.**

'From Fyzabad.'

–	125·5	*Æ* ·8	𑍍𑍃𑍇𑍋𑍐𑍌[– – – – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –]𑍍𑍃𑍋:	𑍋𑍃𑍋𑍌𑍂𑍄: [Bodleian, no. 731.]

N.C., 1891, Pl. II. 12, p. 64; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 102; 1893, p. 118.

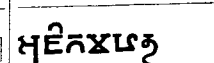
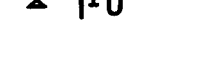
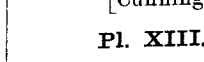
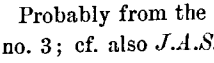
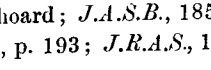
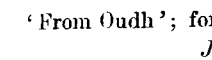
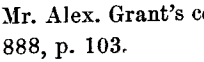
Probably Tregear's coin, *P.E.*, i, Pl. XXX. 3.

Another specimen of this type is *I. M. Cat.*, no. 21, p. 113, and there was a fourth in the Clive-Bayley collection.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Var. *β*.	
			King on horseback to r., as before. 𑀓𑁆𑀰𑀺𑀢𑀺𑀧𑀢𑀺𑀅𑀚𑀺𑀢𑁄 𑀫𑀳𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭𑀲𑀺𑀁𑀳𑁄 𑀤𑀺𑀯𑀁𑀚𑀬𑀢𑀺 (*Kṣitipatir ajito vijayī mahendrasiṁho divaṁ jayati*) (Metre: Upagīti.)	Goddess (Lakṣmī), nimbate, seated to l. on wicker stool, holding fillet in outstretched r. hand and lotus with long stalk and leaves behind her in l. resting on hip; border of dots. No symbol. 𑀅𑀚𑀺𑀢𑀫𑀳𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭𑀃 (*Ajitamahendraḥ*[1])
205	125·0	*N* ·75	𑀓 𑀫𑀳𑀫[⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑] 𑀲𑀮𑀴𑀤𑁂𑀯𑀫	𑀅𑀚𑀺𑀢𑀫𑀳𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭 [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. XIII. 2.**
206	127·2	*N* ·75	[𑀓] 𑀫𑀳𑀫[𑀤𑀫 ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑] 𑀲𑀮𑀴𑀤𑁂𑀯𑀫	𑀅𑀚𑀺𑀢𑀫𑀳𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭 [Bush, 1865.] **Pl. XIII. 3.**
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 193, Pl. III. 12; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 100, Pl. II. 13.	
207	125·3	*N* ·8	𑀓 𑀫[⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑] 𑀲𑀮𑀴𑀤𑁂𑀯𑀫	𑀅𑀚𑀺𑀢𑀫𑀳𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭 [I. O. C., 1882.] **Pl. XIII. 4.**
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 193; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 101.	
208	125·8	*N* ·75	𑀓 𑀫𑀳𑀫[⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ 𑀲 𑀮]𑀴𑀤𑁂𑀯𑀫	𑀅𑀚𑀺𑀢𑀫𑀳𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭 [Purchased, 1901.]

[1] The *visarga* does not appear on any specimen.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
209	117·3 (*much worn*)	Æ ·75	[illegible]	[illegible] [Thomas, 1850.]
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 193; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 101.	
—	—	Æ ·75	[illegible]	[illegible] [St. Petersburg.]
			Pl. XIII. 5.	
			White King, *Cat.*, no. 5420.	
			Var. γ.	
			King on horseback to r. as before, but nimbate, and wearing long sash, the ends of which fly behind.	Goddess (Lakṣmī), nimbate, seated l. on stool with lotus as before in l., but offering fruit (very rudely represented) to peacock; border of dots. No symbol.
			[illegible] (*Kṣitipatir ajito vijayī Kumāragupto divaṁ jayati*) (Metre: Upagīti.)	[illegible] (*Ajitamahendraḥ*)
210	124·5	Æ ·8	[illegible]	[illegible] [Purchased, 1911.]
				Pl. XIII. 6.
211	123·0	Æ ·8	[illegible]	[illegible] [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.]
				Pl. XIII. 7.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
212	125·2	Æ ·75		 [Cunningham, 1894.] Pl. XIII. 8.
213	125·8	Æ ·8		 [I. O. C., 1882.]
			Probably from the Bharsar hoard; *J.A.S.B.*, 1852, p. 399, no. 3; cf. also *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 193; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 102.	
–	—	Æ ·8		 [St. Petersburg.]
			'From Oudh'; formerly in Mr. Alex. Grant's collection; *J.R.A.S.*, 1888, p. 103.	
214	124·0	Æ ·8		 [I. O. C., 1882.] Pl. XIII. 9.
			Bharsar hoard; *J.A.S.B.*, 1852, p. 398, Pl. XII. 8; *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 193; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 102.	
215	125·9	Æ ·75		
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 102, B.M.	
			The following coins, 216–18, are identical in type to the preceding, but have a different uncertain obverse legend.	
216	124·7	Æ ·8	 on r. (?) on l.	 [Yeaman, 1858.]
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 193; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 102.	

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
217	126·7	Æ ·8	𑍐 𑌕𑌲𑌕𑍅 on r. 𑍅 on l.	𑌮𑍅𑌹𑌨𑌶𑍍𑌰: [Yeaman, 1858.]
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 193; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 102.	
218	124·8	Æ ·8	𑍐 𑌕𑌲𑌕[𑍅] on r. 𑌬𑍅𑌬 on l.	[𑌮]𑍅𑌹𑌨𑌶𑍍𑌰: [Eden, 1853.] **Pl. XIII. 10.**
			Ibid.	

Horseman Type. Class II.

Var. *a*. King to r.

King on horseback to r. as before, but holding bow in l. hand with string outwards and without sash.	Goddess (Lakṣmī?), nimbate, seated l. on wicker stool, holding lotus with long stalk and leaves in l. hand behind and with r. hand feeding peacock from bunch of fruit, which in this variety is distinctly represented; border of dots. No symbol.
𑌗𑌪𑍍𑌤𑌕𑌲𑌵𑍍𑌯𑌓𑌮𑌹𑌶𑌶𑍀 𑌜𑌯𑌤𑍀𑌹𑌜𑌿𑌤𑌮𑌹𑌨𑍇𑌨𑍍𑌦𑍍𑌰: *Guptakulavyomaśaśī jayaty-ajeyo 'jitamahendraḥ* (Metre: Upagīti.)	𑌮𑍅𑌹𑌨𑌶𑍍𑌰: (*Ajitamahendraḥ*)
219 127·0 Æ ·75	𑌗𑌪𑍍𑌤 𑌬𑍃𑌮𑌹𑌦𑍇𑌵[𑍍𑌯]𑍅𑌹𑌨𑌶𑍍𑌰	𑌮𑍅𑌹𑌨𑌶𑍍𑌰 [Barstow, 1892.] **Pl. XIII. 11.**
	J.R.A.S., 1893, p. 119, Pl. III. 6.	

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
220	125·0	Æ ·75	[illegible]	[illegible] [Cunningham, 1894.]
221	124·5	Æ ·8	[illegible]	[illegible] [Prinsep, 1847.] Pl. XIII. 12.
			P.E., i, Pl. XXIII. 30, p. 281 ; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 102.	
222	124·7	Æ ·75	[illegible]	[illegible] [Cunningham, 1894.]
223	125·5	Æ ·75	[illegible]	[illegible] [Marsden, MLIX.] Pl. XIII. 13.
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 102.	
224	124·0	Æ ·8	[illegible]	[illegible] [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] Pl. XIII. 14.
225	124·6	Æ ·75	[illegible]	Inscription double-struck. [Purchased, 1893.]
–	126·8	Æ ·8	[illegible]	[illegible] [Lucknow Museum.] Pl. XIII. 15.
			Mirzapur hoard ; *N.C.*, 1910, p. 408, no. 39, Pl. XIV. 17.	

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Var. *β*.	
			King to l.; different legend.	
			King on horseback as in preceding variety, but riding to l., holding bow in r. hand; sword visible on l. side.	Goddess seated l. as before, feeding peacock and holding lotus in l. hand; border of dots.
				On l. ✱
			𑀓𑀼𑀫𑀸𑀭𑀕𑀼𑀧𑀢𑀓𑁃𑀮𑀸𑀫𑀮𑀘𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭 𑀫𑀳𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭𑀓𑀫𑁆𑀫𑀸𑀚𑀺𑀢𑁄 𑀚𑀬𑀢𑀺	𑀅𑀚𑀺𑀢𑀫𑀳𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭:
			(*Guptakulāmalacandro mahendrakarmājito jayati*) (Metre: Upagīti.)	(*Ajitamahendraḥ*)
226	126·0	*Æ* ·8	𑀓𑀼𑀫𑀸𑀭𑀕𑀼𑀧𑀢 𑀫[𑁆𑀭𑀫𑀳 𑁆𑀭]𑀢𑀸𑀭𑀓𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭 𑀫	𑀅𑀚𑀺𑀢𑀫𑀳𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭[ᵕ]
				Pl. XIII. 16.
			This coin is figured in Ouseley's *Oriental Collections*, ii, p. 425, Pl. 3 with the 'Couch' coin of Candragupta II (no. 102 above); cf. also *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 194, Pl. III. 13; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 104, Pl. II. 14.	
227	110·1 (*worn*)	*Æ* ·8	𑀓𑀼𑀫𑀸𑀭𑀕𑀼𑀧𑀢 𑀫 𑀭 𑀫𑀮 𑀭𑀢𑀸𑀭𑀓𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭 𑀫	𑀅𑀚𑀺𑀢𑀫𑀳𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭
				[H. Nelson Wright, 1910.]
228	124·0	*Æ* ·8	[– ᵕᵕ – ᵕᵕ – –] 𑀫 𑀦𑁆𑀭𑀢 𑀫𑁆𑀫𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭 𑀫	𑀅𑀚𑀺𑀢𑀫𑀳[𑀭]𑁆
				[Purchased, 1902.]
				Pl. XIII. 17.

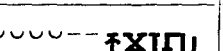
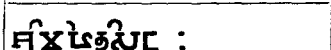
No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
229	123·8	*AV* ·8	𑀓𑀼𑀫𑀸𑀭𑀕𑀼 ⚙ 𑀇 𑀕 𑀫𑀳𑀇𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭𑀲𑀺 𑀓	𑀫𑀳𑀇𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭𑀲𑀺𑀳 Pl. XIII. 18.
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 194; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 104.	
230	123·2	*AV* ·8	[𑀓𑀼𑀫𑀸𑀭𑀕𑀼] – ∪ – ∪ – – 𑀫𑀳𑀇𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭𑀲[ᵘ] ∪ – ∪ ∪ 𑀓	[Purchased, 1867.]
			Ibid.	
–	123·6	*AV* ·8	[– ∪ ∪ – ∪ ∪ –] 𑀇 𑀇𑀲𑀇𑀢𑁄 𑀫𑀳𑀇𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭𑀲[𑀇] 𑀏𑀓𑀏𑀫 𑀓	[Lucknow Museum.] Pl. XIII. 19.
			Mirzapur hoard; *N.C.*, 1910, p. 407, no. 38, Pl. XIV. 16.	

Lion-slayer Type.

King standing r., wearing waistcloth with sash floating behind and jewellery, shooting lion, which falls backward on r. from leap, with bow in l. hand, r. drawn behind head.	Goddess (Ambikā - Lakṣmī), nimbate, seated facing on lion couchant r., holding fillet in outstretched r. hand and lotus in l. hand or lotus only; border of dots. Symbol on l.
Legends vary on different varieties.	𑀲𑁆𑀭𑀻𑀫𑀳𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭𑀲𑀺𑀁𑀳𑀲𑁆 (*Śrī-Mahendrasiṁhaḥ*) or 𑀲𑀺𑀁𑀳𑀫𑀳𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭𑀲𑁆 (*Siṁhamahendraḥ*)

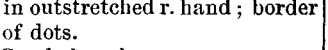
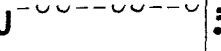
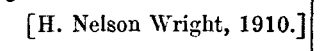
No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Var. *a*.	
			As above. Legend incomplete, possibly (beginning on r.) 𑀲𑀓𑁆𑀱𑀸𑀤[𑀦𑀭𑀲𑀺𑀁𑀳]𑀲𑀁𑀭 𑀫𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭𑀲𑀫𑀵𑀸𑀥 (*Sākṣād iva [Narasiṁho] siṁhamahendro jayaty-aniśam*) (Metre: Upagīti.)	The lotus in the goddess's l. arm is treated like a cornucopiae; head of lion to front. 𑀲𑁆𑀭𑀻𑀫𑀳𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭𑀲𑀺𑀁𑀳𑀃 (*Śrī-Mahendrasiṁhaḥ*)
231	125·5	*N* ·75	𑀲𑀓𑁆𑀱𑀸𑀤[◡ ◡ – – – 𑀦𑀭𑀲𑀺𑀁𑀳 𑀫𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭]𑀵 [◡𑀥]	𑁦; 𑀲𑁆𑀭𑀻𑀫𑀳𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭𑀲𑀺𑀁𑀳 [Purchased, 1893.] Pl. XIV. 1.
232	127·5	*N* ·8	𑀲𑀓𑁆𑀱𑀸[◡ ◡ ◡ – – –]𑀦𑀭𑀲𑀺𑀁𑀳 𑀫𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭 𑀵𑀸𑀥	𑁦; 𑀲𑁆𑀭𑀻𑀫𑀳𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭𑀲𑀺𑀁𑀳 [Presented by Vincent A. Smith, Esq.] Pl. XIV. 2.
233	113·0 (*much worn*)	*N* ·75	Traces of [𑀫𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭]𑀵 on l.	Head of lion to r. 𑁦; 𑀲𑁆𑀭𑀻𑀫𑀳𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭𑀲𑀺𑀁𑀳 [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] Pl. XIV. 3.
234	127·3	*N* ·75	𑀲𑀓𑁆𑀱[𑀸𑀤 ◡ ◡ – – – 𑀦𑀭]𑀲𑀺𑀁𑀳 𑀫𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭𑀵 𑀥	Head of lion to r. 𑁦; 𑀲𑁆𑀭𑀻𑀫𑀳𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭𑀲𑀺𑀁𑀳 [Purchased, 1908.] Pl. XIV. 4.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
235	126·5	*Æ* ·75	[𑀓𑁆𑀭𑀫𑀸𑀤𑀺𑀢𑁆𑀬] on r.	Head of lion to r. 𑀫𑀳𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭𑀲𑀺𑀁𑀳𑀲𑁆 [Barstow, 1892.] **Pl. XIV. 5.**
			J.R.A.S., 1893, p. 122, Pl. III. 7.	
			Var. *β*.	
			As preceding. Legend 𑀓𑁆𑀰𑀺𑀢𑀺𑀧𑀢𑀺𑀅𑀚𑀺𑀢𑀫𑀳𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭[:]𑀕𑀼𑀧𑁆𑀢 𑀫𑁆𑀬𑁂𑀢𑀺𑀤𑀺𑀯𑀁𑀚𑀬𑀢𑀺 (*Kṣitipatir ajitamahendraḥ Kumāragupto divaṁ jayati*) (Metre: Upagīti.)	Goddess seated facing on lion couchant with head to r., holding lotus with leaves in outstretched r. hand, half reclining on l. arm which rests on knee. No symbol. 𑀲𑁆𑀭𑀻-*Mahendrasiṅhaḥ*)
236	127·1	*Æ* ·8	[𑀓𑀼𑀫𑀸𑀭][𑀕𑀼𑀄𑀄𑀄𑀄] 𑀤𑀺𑀯[𑀬𑀁𑀲]	𑀲𑁆𑀭𑀻𑀫𑀳𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭𑀲𑀺𑀁𑀳𑀲𑁆 [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. XIV. 6.**
237	125·3	*Æ* ·8	[𑀓𑀼𑀫𑀸𑀭][𑀄𑀄𑀄𑀲]𑀭	𑀲𑁆𑀭𑀻𑀫𑀳𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭𑀲𑀺[𑀄] [H. Nelson Wright, 1911.] **Pl. XIV. 7.**

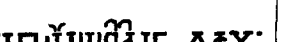
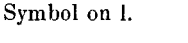
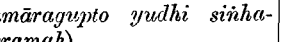
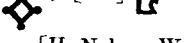
No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
–	126·0	*N* ·8		 [Indian Museum.] **Pl. XIV. 8.**

I. M. Cat., i, p. 114, no. 37, Pl. XVI. 6.

Var. γ.

			As preceding. Legend uncertain, possibly  (*Kumārayupto vijayī siṅha-mahendro divaṁ jayati*) (Metre: Upagīti)	Goddess seated facing on lion as in var. β, but holding lotus in uplifted l. hand and fillet in outstretched r. hand; border of dots. Symbol on l.  (*Siṅhamahendraḥ*)
238	123·2	*N* ·8		 [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. XIV. 9.**
239	115·7 (*much worn*)	*N* ·8		[H. Nelson Wright, 1910.]
–	—	*N* ·8		 [St. Petersburg.]

White King, *Cat.*, no. 5423.

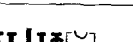
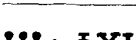
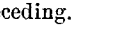
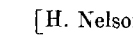
No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Var. δ.	
			As preceding. Legend  (*Kumāragupto yudhi siṅha-vikkramaḥ*) (Metre : Vaṁśasthavila.)	Goddess seated as in var. γ, but resting l. hand on knee, and lion's head is to front. Symbol on l.  (*Siṅhamahendraḥ*)
240	125·6	*N* ·8		 [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. XIV. 10.**
241	126·2	*N* ·8		 [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. XIV. 11.**
–	125·0	*N* ·85		 [Indian Museum.] **Pl. XIV. 12.**

I. M. Cat., i, p. 114, no. 36, Pl. XVI. 5.

There is another specimen of this variety (symbol  ; wt. 122·7 gr.) in Mr. W. E. M. Campbell's collection.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Var. *ϵ*.	
			As preceding, but	As preceding, but
			𑍐𑌶𑍀𑌹𑌮𑌹𑌿𑌨𑌦𑍍𑌰𑌃	𑌸𑌿𑌂𑌹𑌮𑌹𑌨𑍇𑌨𑍍𑌦𑍍𑌰𑌃 (*Siṁhamahendraḥ*)
242	124·7	Æ ·8	[𑍐]𑌶𑍀𑌹𑌮𑌹𑌿[𑌨]𑌦𑍍𑌰𑌃	𑌸𑌿𑌂; 𑌸𑌿𑌂𑌹𑌮𑌹𑌨𑍇[𑌨]
				[H. Nelson Wright, 1910.]
				Pl. XIV. 13.
			'From Lucknow.'	
			Tiger-slayer Type.	
			King to l., wearing waistcloth, jewellery, and head-dress, shooting tiger which falls backwards on l., with bow held in r. hand, l. hand drawing string of bow: his r. foot tramples on tiger. Crescent-topped standard bound with fillet on l.	Goddess standing l. in lotus plant (?), holding lotus with long stalk behind her in l. hand and feeding peacock with fruit in r. hand; border of dots. Symbol on l.
			𑀰𑁆𑀭𑀻𑀫𑀸𑀷𑁆 𑀯𑁆𑀬𑀸𑀖𑁆𑀭𑀩𑀮𑀧𑀭𑀸𑀓𑁆𑀓𑀫𑀸𑀳𑁄 (*Śrīmāṅ Vyāghrabalaparākkramaḥ*)	𑍐𑌶𑍀𑌕𑍁𑌮𑌾𑌰𑌗𑍁𑌪𑍍𑌤𑍋 'धिराजा (*Kumāragupto 'dhirājā*)
			Var. *a*. Without *ku* in field.	
243	127·3	Æ ·8	𑀰𑁆𑀭𑀻𑀫𑀸𑀷𑁆 𑀯𑁆𑀬𑀸𑀖𑁆𑀭𑀩𑀮𑀧𑀭𑀸[𑀓𑁆𑀓𑀫𑀸𑀳𑁄]	𑌸𑌿𑌂; 𑍐𑌶𑍀𑌕𑍁𑌮𑌾𑌰𑌗𑍁𑌪𑍍𑌤𑍋
				[Pres. by Major R. C. Temple, 1892.]
				Pl. XIV. 14.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Var. *β*. With *ku* in field.	
			As preceding, with addition of 𑍁 (*Ku*) surmounted by crescent beneath l. arm.	As preceding.
244	124·5	Æ ·8	𑍁 [𑍂𑍃𑍄𑍅𑍆𑍇]	𑍈; 𑍉𑍊𑍋𑍌𑍍𑍎𑍏 [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. XIV. 15.**
–	125·0	Æ ·8	𑍁 𑍂𑍃	𑍈 or 𑍈; 𑍉𑍊𑍋𑍌𑍍𑍎𑍏 [In the Hon. Mr. R. Burn's collection.] **Pl. XIV. 16.**
–	125·4	Æ ·8	𑍁 [𑍂𑍃]	𑍈; 𑍉𑍊𑍋𑍌𑍍𑍎[𑍐] [Lucknow Museum.] **Pl. XIV. 17.**
			Mirzapur hoard; *N.C.*, 1910, p. 407, Pl. XIV. 15.	
245	123·8	Æ ·75	[𑍁]𑍂 𑍃𑍄𑍅𑍆𑍇𑍈[𑍊]	𑍈; the lotus-flower is differently treated on coins with this symbol. 𑍉𑍊𑍋𑍌𑍍𑍎𑍏 [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. XV. 1.**
			P.E., i, Pl. XXIII. 28, p. 280, 'from Benares'; *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 193; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 100.	

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
246	120·2	Æ ·8	 Same dies as preceding.	 [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. XV. 2.**
247	126·1	Æ ·8		 [I. O. C., 1882.] **Pl. XV. 3.**
–	126·3	Æ ·8		[Indian Museum.] **Pl. XV. 4.**

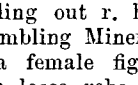
Probably Bharsar hoard; *J.A.S.B.*, 1852, p. 397, no. 1; *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 194, Pl. IV. 32; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 108, Pl. III. 5.

I. M. Cat., i, p. 114, no. 36 (Pl. XVI. 4), 'from Ayodhyā'.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Peacock Type.	
			Var. *a*.	
			King, nimbate, standing l., wearing waistcloth with long sashes and jewellery, feeding peacock from bunch of fruit held in r. hand, l. hand behind him. Legend uncertain and incomplete; it begins	Kārttikeya, nimbate, three-quarters to l., riding on his peacock Paravāṇi, holding spear in l. hand over shoulder (*śakti-dhara*), with r. hand sprinkling incense on altar on r. (?); the peacock stands on a kind of platform: border of dots. No symbol.
			(*Jayati svabhāmau guṇarāśi*), followed by five more characters on r., and ends	(*Mahendrakumāraḥ*)
			mahendrakumāraḥ) on l.	
248	128·4	*N* ·8	On r. [illegible] on l. [illegible]	[illegible] [Pres. by F. M. Lind, Esq.] **Pl. XV. 5.**
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 195, Pl. IV. 1; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 105, Pl. III. 1.	
249	126·8	*N* ·8	On r. traces of inscription; on l. [illegible]	[illegible] [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. XV. 6.**
250	126·5	*N* ·8	On r. [illegible] followed by six more characters.	[illegible] [Nathan, 1868.] **Pl. XV. 7.**
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 195; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 105.	

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
251	128·5	Æ ·75	On r. [ᳬᳬ⁻𑍍]𑍌𑍂𑍆𑍇 followed by six more characters.	[ᳬ⁻]𑍅𑍆𑍂 [Pres. by R. Taylor, Esq., 1893.] **Pl. XV. 8.**
			J.R.A.S., 1893, p. 121, Pl. III. 8.	
252	128·3	Æ ·75	On r. [ᳬᳬ𑍍𑍌] on l. 𑍅𑍆[𑍂]	[ᳬ]𑍂𑍅𑍆𑍂 [Pres. by R. Taylor, Esq., 1893.] **Pl. XV. 9.**
			J.R.A.S., 1893, p. 121.	
253	128·2	Æ ·85	On r. [ᳬᳬ⁻𑍍𑍌]𑍂𑍆𑍇𑍈 followed by five more characters.	[𑍂𑍆]𑍅𑍆[𑍂] [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. XV. 10.**
			'From Allahabad'; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 105.	
–	127·6	Æ ·7	On r. [𑍄]𑍃𑍍𑍌[𑍌⁻]𑍆𑍇𑍈	𑍂𑍆𑍅𑍆𑍅𑍂 [St. Petersburg.] **Pl. XV. 11.**
			There are two other specimens of this variety in St. Petersburg and three in the Indian Museum (*Cat.*, i, nos. 30–2).	

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Var. *β*.	
			Similar to var. *α*, but king is stooping slightly, his r. hand is empty and l. rests on hip: peacock facing to front.	Similar, but Kārttikeya and peacock facing to front; border of dots. No symbol. 𑀫𑀳𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭𑀓𑀼𑀫𑀸𑀭𑀃 (*Mahendrakumāraḥ*)
254	126·0	Æ ·8	On r. [𑀘𑀓]𑀭𑀤𑁂𑀯 followed by six illegible characters.	[𑀘]𑀓𑀼𑀫𑀸𑀭𑀕𑁆𑀢 [I. O. C., 1882.] **Pl. XV. 12.**
			Bharsar hoard; *J.A.S.B.*, 1852, p. 397, no. 3, Pl. XII. 7; *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 195, Pl. IV. 2; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 105, Pl. III. 2.	
255	132·7 (*with ring*)	Æ ·75	On r. 𑀧𑀭𑀫𑀪𑀕𑀯𑀢𑁄𑀓𑀫𑀳𑀸𑀤𑁂𑀯𑀻 on l. 𑀢𑁆𑀭𑀺	[𑀓𑀼𑀫𑀸𑀭𑀕𑁆𑀢] [Pres. by R. Taylor, Esq., 1893.] **Pl. XV. 13.**
			J.R.A.S., 1893, p. 121, Pl. III. 9.	
256	127·8	Æ ·75	On r. [𑀧𑀭𑀫𑀪𑀕𑀯𑀢𑁄] followed by six illegible characters.	[𑀓]𑀼𑀫𑀸𑀭𑀕𑁆𑀢 [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. XV. 14.**
			'From Allahabad'; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 105.	
			There are three specimens of this variety in St. Petersburg, and two in the Indian Museum (*Cat.*, i, nos. **33**, **34**).	

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			'Pratāpa' Type.	
			Male figure. wearing long loose robe, with arms on breast (in *jñānamudrā* attitude), standing facing: on his l. female figure to r., wearing long loose robe and helmet, with shield on l. arm, and holding out r. hand (closely resembling Minerva); on his r. a female figure wearing long loose robe, standing l., holding out r. hand and resting l. on hip; the two latter appear to be addressing the central figure; Garuḍa standard behind central figure. On either side of central figure  (*Kumāraguptaḥ*)	Goddess (Lakṣmī) seated facing on lotus. holding lotus in uplifted r. hand and resting l. on knee; border of dots.  on l.  (*Śrī-Pratāpaḥ*) [Pres. by J. H. Rivett-Carnac, Esq., 1884.] **Pl. XV. 15.**
257	115·0	*M* ·75	A long marginal inscription, of which only the lower parts of the letters remain on the flan.	

Proc. A.S.B., 1883, p. 144; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 109, Pl. III. 4.

No satisfactory explanation can yet be given of the obverse type of this piece, which is still unique; it seems to be restruck on another, perhaps non-Indian, coin: between the  and  of *Kumāra* may still be seen what looks like II in Roman numerals: a portion of the original type may also be seen below the  of *gupta* and below the shoulders of the figure on the right: the central figure is Indian in style. while the two others are quite foreign.

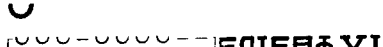
No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Elephant-rider Type.	
			King holding goad in r. hand, seated on elephant which advances l.; behind him is seated an attendant holding *chattra* over him.	Lakṣmī standing facing on lotus flower, grasping stalk of lotus growing beside her in her r. hand and holding lotus flower in l. arm; uncertain object (vase?) on l.; border of dots. No symbol.
–	124·1	Æ ·75	Traces of uncertain inscription, which perhaps begins *Kṣiti-*[*pati*] on l.	Inscription uncertain, perhaps ends *gaja*. **Pl. XV. 16.**

I. M. Cat., i, p. 115, no. 38 (Pl. XVI. 7). This coin was found at Mahanada in Bengal with an Archer coin of Kumāragupta I and an Archer coin of Skandagupta (*Proc. A.S.B.*, 1882, pp. 91, 104), so that the attribution to Kumāragupta I is probable.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
			Silver Coins.
			Classes I–III: Western Provinces.
			Class I.
			Var. *a*.
			Obv. Bust r., as on silver coins of Candragupta II and later coins of the Western Kṣatrapas. On l. 𑀰𑁆𑀭 [*varṣ(e)*] but without trace of date. On r. degraded copies of Greek letters. *Rev.* Garuḍa standing facing with outspread wings; below, ᴖO or Oᴖ; above, on r., cluster of seven dots ⁘; border of dots. Inscr. around (beginning III) 𑀧𑀭𑀫𑀪𑀕𑀯𑀢𑀫𑀳𑀭𑀸𑀚𑀸𑀥𑀺𑀭𑀸𑀚-𑀰𑁃-𑀓𑀼𑀫𑀸𑀭𑀕𑀼𑀧𑁆𑀢𑀫𑀳𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭𑀸𑀤𑀺𑀢𑁆𑀬𑀃 (*Paramabhāgavata-mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Kumāragupta-Mahendrādityaḥ*)
258	29·8	Æ ·6	*Obv.* 𑀰𑁆𑀭 *Rev.* 𑀧𑀚[ᴖ⁻ᴖᴖ]𑀓𑀫𑀳𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭𑀑𑀚𑁆𑀚𑀬𑀦𑀻𑀢𑀺 Pl. XVI. 1. [Da Cuñha, 1904.]
259	31·8	Æ ·6	*Obv.* [𑀰𑁆𑀭] *Rev.* 𑀧𑀚𑀓𑀫[ᴖᴖᴖ⁻]𑀑𑀚𑁆𑀚𑀬𑀦𑀻𑀢𑀺 Pl. XVI. 2. [Da Cuñha, 1904.]
260	28·6	Æ ·6	*Obv.* 𑀳ᴖ *Rev.* 𑀧𑀚𑀓𑀫𑀰𑀓𑀫𑀑𑀚𑀬𑀦𑀻𑀢𑀺 Pl. XVI. 3. [Da Cuñha, 1904.]
261	28·8	Æ ·5	*Obv.* 𑀳𑀪ᴖ *Rev.* 𑀧𑀚𑀓𑀫𑀰𑀓[⁻⁻ᴖ]𑀑𑀚𑁆𑀚𑀬𑀦𑀻𑀢𑀺 [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.]

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
262	33·5	Æ ·6	*Obv.*  *Rev.*  Pl. XVI. 4. [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.]
263	24·1	Æ ·7	*Obv.* *Rev.* Pl. XVI. 5. [Bird, 1854.]
264	25·3	Æ ·55	*Obv.*  *Rev.*  [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.]
265	30·2	Æ ·55	*Obv.* *Rev.*  [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] Pl. XVI. 6.
266	31·9	Æ ·6	*Obv.* Traces of Greek letters. *Rev.*  [Cunningham, 1894.]
267	26·7	Æ ·55	*Obv.*  *Rev.*  [Bird, 1854.]
268	31·9	Æ ·55	*Obv.* *Rev.*  [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] Pl. XVI. 7.

No.	Wt.	Metal Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
269	30·4	Æ ·6	*Obv.* ᔑOIHOᔑ *Rev.* ᑌᒍᐯᔭᑎᐞᐃᔭᐯᑐᒍᕮᘐᒍᕮᕮᖮᖮ[ᔑ–ᔑ]ᐯᑐᖘᔑᔕᖘ [Pres. by Dr. J. Burgess, 1888.] Pl. XVI. 8.
270	28·5	Æ ·55	*Obv.* ᕼIHO *Rev.* [ᔑᔑᔑ–ᔑᔑ]ᔭᐯᑐᒍᕮᘐᒍᕮᕮᖮᖮᐯᒍ Pl. XVI. 9. [Cunningham, 1894.]
271	29·5	Æ ·55	*Obv.* Oᑕ *Rev.* [ᑌᒍᐯ¯]ᑎᐞᐃᔭᐯᑐᒍᕮᘐᒍᕮᕮᖮᖮᐯᘯ [Cunningham, 1894.]
272	31·8	Æ ·55	*Obv.* ᑌHOᔑ on l. *Rev.* [ᔑᔑᔑ–ᔑᔑᔑᔑ¯ᒍ]ᕮᘐᒍᕮᕮᖮᖮᐯᒍᑎᖵ[ᔑ–ᔑ¯ᖘ] [Pres. by Dr. Burgess, 1888.] Pl. XVI. 10.
273	30·6	Æ ·5	*Obv.* IᔑHOI *Rev.* ᑌᒍᐯᔭᑎᐞᐃᔭᐯᑐᒍᕮᘐᒍᕮᕮᖮᖮᐯᒍᑎᖵᐯᖘᔑᔕᖘ [Steuart, 1853.]
274	29·2	Æ ·55	*Obv.* OH *Rev.* ᑌᒍᐯᔭ[ᔑᔑᔑᔑ]ᖘᒍᕮᘐᒍᕮᕮᖮᖮᐯᒍᑎᖵ[ᔑ¯ᖘᔑᔕᖘ] [Dr. J. Burgess, 1890.]
275	33·1	Æ ·55	*Obv.* Oᑌ *Rev.* [ᔑᔑᔑ¯]ᑎᐞᐃᔭᐯᑐᒍᕮᘐᒍᕮᕮᖮᖮ [Dr. J. Burgess, 1890.]

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
276	31·8	Æ ·5	*Obv.*  *Rev* [Dr. J. Burgess, 1890.]
277	31·3	Æ ·5	*Rev.*  [Da Cuñha, 1904.]
278	32·3	Æ ·55	*Rev.*  [Dr. J. Burgess, 1890.]
279	31·2	Æ ·55	*Rev.* [Dr. J. Burgess, 1890.]
280	29·5	Æ ·55	*Rev.* [Bird, 1854.]
281	31·5	Æ ·55	*Rev.* Pl. XVI. 11. [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.]
282	29·7	Æ ·5	*Rev.*  [Pres. by Dr. J. Burgess, 1888.]
283	31·8	Æ ·6	*Rev.* [Dr. J. Burgess, 1890.] Pl. XVI. 12.
284	31·6	Æ ·55	*Rev.*  [Dr. J. Burgess, 1890.] Pl. XVI. 13.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
285	31·2	Æ ·55	*Rev.* [˘˘˘–˘˘]ꤗꤢꤟꤜ꤇ꤊꤜ꤇ꤓꤢꤜ [Dr. J. Burgess, 1890.]
286	28·7	Æ ·5	*Rev.* ꤟꤜꤢꤓꤒꤗꤗꤢꤟꤜ꤇[˘]ꤜ[– – ˘ – ˘ – ˘˘ – ˘ – ꤞ] [Dr. J. Burgess, 1890.] Pl. XVI. 14.
			The following coins, 287–295, have defective legends.
287	31·6	Æ ·5	*Obv.* ꤇˘ on l. *Rev.* [˘˘˘–˘˘]ꤗꤢꤟꤜ꤇ꤊꤓꤢꤜꤟꤜꤢꤒ[˘ – ˘ – ꤞ] [Pres. by Dr. J. Burgess, 1888.] Pl. XVI. 15.
288	32·5	Æ ·5	*Rev.* [˘˘˘–˘˘˘˘–]ꤜ꤇ꤊꤓꤢꤜꤟꤜꤢꤒ[˘ – ꤡ – ꤞ] [Pres. by Dr. J. Burgess, 1888.] Pl. XVI. 16.
289	28·6	Æ ·5	*Obv.* ˘꤇꤇ on l. *Rev.* [ꤟꤜꤢ – ˘˘]ꤗꤜ꤇ꤊꤓ[ꤢ – ꤜꤒꤢ] [Dr. J. Burgess, 1890.]
290	33·3	Æ ·5	*Rev.* [˘˘˘–˘˘˘˘–]ꤜꤊꤜ꤇ꤓꤢꤢ[– ꤜ] [Dr. J. Burgess, 1890.]
291	31·6	Æ ·55	*Obv.* Traces of Greek letters. *Rev.* ꤟꤜꤢꤓꤒꤗꤢꤊꤜꤓꤢ [Dr. J. Burgess, 1890.]
292	32·5	Æ ·5	*Rev.* [˘]ꤜꤢꤓꤒꤗ ꤢꤊꤜꤓꤢꤢꤜ [Dr. J. Burgess, 1890.]

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
293	31·6	Æ ·5	*Rev.* [illegible] [Dr. J. Burgess, 1890.]
294	31·1	Æ ·55	*Rev.* [illegible] [Dr. J. Burgess, 1890.] **Pl. XVI. 17.**
295	31·7	Æ ·5	*Rev.* [illegible] [Dr. J. Burgess, 1890.]

Var. *β*.

Obv. Bust of king r. as before; traces of Greek letters.

Rev. Garuḍa standing facing; cluster of seven dots ⁘ above on r.; border of dots.

Inscr. (beginning III)

[illegible]

(*Paramabhāgavata-mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Kumāragupta-Mahendrādityaḥ*)

296	32·0	Æ ·6	*Obv.* **OHOHCO** on r. *Rev.* **OᑌO** beneath Garuḍa. [illegible] [Pres. by Dr. J. Burgess, 1888.] **Pl. XVI. 18.**
297	28·3	Æ ·55	*Obv* **HOHO** on l. *Rev.* [illegible] [Dr. J. Burgess, 1890.] **Pl. XVI. 19.**

No	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
298	31·7	Æ ·55	*Rev.* [˘ ˘ ˘]𑀫𑀭𑀺𑀦𑀲𑀺𑀜𑀬𑀺[𑀬] [Dr. J. Burgess, 1890.] Pl. XVI. 20.
299	31·0	Æ ·55	*Rev.* [˘ 𑀜𑀲]𑀫𑀭𑀺𑀦𑀲𑀢𑀜 [Dr. J. Burgess, 1890.] Pl. XVI. 21.
300	31·6	Æ ·55	*Rev.* 𑀯𑀜𑀲𑀫𑀭𑀺𑀦𑀲[𑀺𑀜 ¯ ˘ – – – ˘ – ˘ 𑀭𑀻𑀕𑀲 ¯ 𑀢𑁄𑀭𑁆𑀫] [Pres. by Dr. J. Burgess, 1888.] Pl. XVI. 22.
301	31·9	Æ ·55	*Rev.* 𑀯𑀜𑀲𑀫𑀭𑀺[˘ ˘ – – – ˘ – – – ˘ – ˘ – ˘]𑀲𑀺𑀢𑁄𑀭𑁆𑀫 [Dr. J. Burgess, 1890.]
302	33·2	Æ ·55	*Rev.* [˘ ˘ ˘ – ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ – – – ˘ – –]𑀫𑁂𑀲𑀜𑀭𑀻𑀕𑀲 [Dr. J. Burgess, 1890.]
			Var. γ.
			Obv. As in var. β.
			Rev. Closely resembles var. β in style, but inscr. (beginning III) has 𑀜 for 𑀲 and 𑀣 for 𑀤.
303	35·7	Æ ·5	*Rev.* 𑀯[𑀜 ˘ – ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ – – – ˘ – – –]𑁂𑀜𑀭𑀻𑀕𑀜𑀺𑀢𑁄𑀭𑁆𑀫 [Dr. J. Burgess, 1890.] Pl. XVI. 23.
304	29·1	Æ ·5	*Rev.* Seven dots below instead of above on r. 𑀯𑀜𑀜𑀫𑀭𑀺𑀣𑀜𑀜[– – – ˘ – – – ˘ –]𑀜𑀭𑀻𑀕𑀜𑀺𑀢𑁄𑀭𑁆𑀫 [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.]

No	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
305	29·0	Æ ·5	*Rev.* Seven dots below on r. [illegible] [Dr. J. Burgess, 1890.]

Class II.

Var. *a.*

Obv. Head r. as before, but without Greek letters or date.

Rev. Garuḍa standing facing, rudely executed; without cluster of dots above or ○○ below; border of dots.

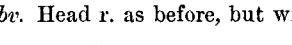
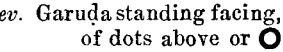
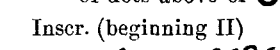
Inscr. (beginning II)



(*Paramabhāgavata-rājādhirāja-Śrī-Kumāragupta-Mahendrādityaḥ*)

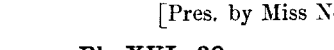
306	30·9	Æ ·55	*Rev.*  [Pres. by Miss Newton, 1908.]

Pl. XVI. 24.

307	29·9	Æ ·5	*Rev.*  [I. O. C.]
308	30·6	Æ ·55	*Rev.*  [Cunningham, 1894.]
309	28·3	Æ ·6	*Rev.*  [I. O. C.]

Pl. XVI. 25.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
310	25·4	Æ ·5	*Rev.* With defective legend. [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.]
			Var. *β*. *Obv.* As in var. *α*. *Rev.* As in var. *α*, but inscription begins *Bhāgavata* in place of *Paramabhāgavata*. Inscr. begins I (unless otherwise stated).
311	30·0	Æ ·5	*Rev.* (X) Pl. XVI. 26. [Prinsep, 1847.]
312	26·7	Æ ·5	*Rev.* Pl. XVI. 27. [Prinsep, 1847.]
313	29·2	Æ ·5	*Rev.* [I. O. C., 1882.]
314	26·4	Æ ·6	*Rev.* Pl. XVI. 28. [I. O. C., 1882.]
315	30·7	Æ ·5	*Rev.* [I. O. C., 1882.]
316	29·4	Æ ·5	*Rev.* Pl. XVI. 29. [I. O. C., 1882.]
317	29·0	Æ ·55	*Rev.* [Da Cuñha, 1904.]

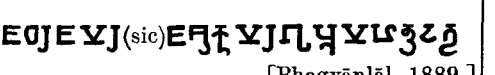
No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
318	30·0	Æ ·55	*Rev.*  [Pres. by Miss Newton, 1908.] **Pl. XVI. 30.**
319	22·9	Æ ·6	*Rev.*  [Parkes Weber Gift, 1906.]
320	28·2	Æ ·5	*Rev.* [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.]

Class III.

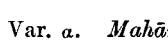
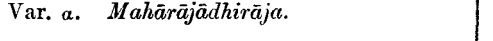
Var. *a*. *Mahārājādhirāja.*

Obv. Head r., with degraded Greek letters as before.

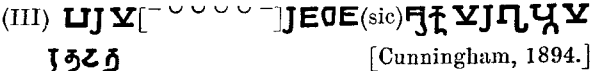
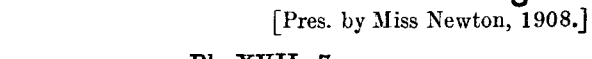
Rev. Garuḍa standing facing with outspread wings as before, but more rudely represented.

Inscr. 

(*Paramabhāgavata-mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Kumāragupta-Mahendrādityaḥ*)

321	30·9	Æ ·5	*Obv.* l.; r. *Rev.* (X) [I. O. C., 1882.] **Pl. XVII. 1.**
322	29·0	Æ ·5	*Obv.*  l. *Rev.* (XI)  [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. XVII. 2.**

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
323	31·2	Æ ·45	*Obv.* HUHU r. *Rev.* (III) [ᵕ]JYϤΠΔϡYIJEOJEϤϮYJΠЧYI ϷϾϷ [Pres. by Miss Newton, 1908.] Pl. XVII. 3.
324	31·3	Æ ·55	*Obv.* OH r. *Rev.* (III) ⊔JY[ᵕᵕᵕᵕᵕ]JEOJEϤϮYJΠЧYIϷ ϾϷ [Pres. by the Watson Museum, 1902.]
325	31·8	Æ ·55	*Obv.* UH l. *Rev.* (III) [ᵕᵕ]YϤΠΔϡYIJEOJEϤϮYJ [Prinsep, 1847.]
326	31·1	Æ ·5	*Obv.* OHOHU r. *Rev.* (III) [ᵕᵕᵕ–ᵕᵕᵕᵕ–––ᵕ–––ᵕ]YJΠJ(sic)ЧY IϷϾ[Ϸ] [I. O. C., 1882.]
326 A	28·6	Æ ·55	*Obv.* UH r. *Rev.* (III) ⊔JYϤΠΔϡYIJEOJEϤϮYJΠЧ[ᵕ– –]ϾϷ [Cunningham, 1894.]
327	30·3	Æ ·45	*Rev.* (VIII) ⊔JЧ(sic)ϤΠΔϡYIJEOJE⊔(sic)ϤϮY JΠЧYIϷϾϷ [Pres. by Miss Newton, 1908.] Pl. XVII. 4.
328	27·1	Æ ·5	*Rev.* (VIII) ⊔JYϤ[ᵕᵕᵕᵕ–––ᵕ]JEϤϮYJΠЧYI ϷϾϷ [Cunningham, 1894.] Pl. XVII. 5.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
329	26·5	Æ ·5	*Obv.* OHOH l. *Rev.* (III)  [Cunningham, 1894.]
330	31·2	Æ ·55	*Rev.* (III)  [Cunningham, 1894.] Pl. XVII. 6.
331	26·8	Æ ·55	*Obv.* OHOH l. *Rev.*  [Pres. by Miss Newton, 1908.] Pl. XVII. 7.
			Var. *β*. *Rājādhirāja.* *Obv.* As in var. *α*. *Rev.* As in var. *α*, but inscr.[1]  (*Paramabhāgavata-rājādhirāja-Śrī-Kumāragupta-Mahendrādityaḥ*)
332	31·3	Æ ·5	*Obv.* HO l. *Rev.*  [Pres. by Miss Newton, 1908.] Pl. XVII. 8.
333	33·0	Æ ·5	*Obv.* OHOH l.; OHOHO r. *Rev.* (VIII)  [Pres. by Miss Newton, 1908.] Pl. XVII. 9.

[1] Beginning III unless otherwise stated.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
334	29·7	Æ ·55	*Obv.* [ᔑHO] r. *Rev.* ᑌᒍᐯᔭᑎᐃᐃ[ᔑ – – ᔑ – – – ᔑ – ᔑ – ᔑᔑ]ᒧᕮᕐᕮ [I. O. C., 1882.]
335	30·0	Æ ·55	*Obv.* ᑌHᑐ r. *Rev.* ᑌᒍᐯᔭᑎᐃᐃᔨᒍᕮᑭᒉᐱᒍᐯᒍᑎᖻ[ᔑ – – – ᔑ] Pl. XVII. 10. [I. O. C., 1882.]
336	32·4	Æ ·55	*Obv.* OHOH r. *Rev.* (VIII) ᑌᒍᐯᔭᑎᐃᐃᔨᒍᕮᑭᒉᐱᐯ[ᔑ – ᔑᔑ –]ᕮᕐᕮ [Pres. by the Watson Museum, 1902.]
337	31·0	Æ ·55	*Rev.* ᑌᒍᐯᔭᑎᐃᐃᔨ[ᒍᕮᑭ]ᒉᐱᒍᑎᖻᐯᒧᕮᕐᕮ [I. O. C., 1882.]
338	34·0	Æ ·55	*Rev.* [ᔑ]ᒍᐯᔭᑎᐃᐃᔨᒍᕮᑭᒉᐱᐯ[ᔑ – ᔑᔑ – ᕮ – ᕮ] [I. O. C., 1882.]
339	31·8	Æ ·55	*Rev.* ᑌᒍᐯᔭᑎᐃᐃᔨᒍᕮᑭᒉᐱᒍᑎᖻᐯᒧᕮᕐᕮ Pl. XVII. 11. [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.]
340	33·0	Æ ·55	*Obv.* OHO l. *Rev.* ᑌᒍᐯᔭᑎᐃᐃᔨᒍᕮᑭᒉᐱᒍᑎᖻᐯᒧᕮᕐᕮ Pl. XVII. 12. [Prinsep, 1847.]
341	31·6	Æ ·5	*Obv.* OHOHO r. *Rev.* (IV) ᑌᒍᐯᔭᑎᐃᐃᔨᒍᕮᑭᒉᐱᒍ[ᔑ – ᔑᔑ –]ᕮᕐᕮ [I. O. C., 1882.]

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
342	32·4	Æ ·6	*Obv.* OH l. *Rev.* (IV) ꠸ꠚꠛꠞꠀꠃꠋ[⌣ – – – ⌣ – ⌣]ꠞꠤꠚꠇꠓꠟ
			Pl. XVII. 13. [I. O. C., 1882.]
343	29·9	Æ ·55	*Rev.* ꠸ꠚꠛꠞꠀꠃꠋꠉꠚꠉꠓꠑꠐꠚꠞꠤꠚꠇꠓꠟ
			[I. O. C., 1882.]
344	28·3	Æ ·5	*Rev.* ꠸ꠚꠛꠞꠀꠃꠋꠉꠚꠉꠓꠑꠐꠚꠞꠤꠚꠇꠓꠟ
			[Cunningham, 1894.]
			Pl. XVII. 14.
345	29·6	Æ ·5	*Rev.* ꠸ꠚꠛꠞꠀꠃꠋꠉꠚꠉꠓꠑꠐꠚꠞꠤꠚꠇꠓꠟ
			[Cunningham, 1894.]
346	29·9	Æ ·55	*Rev.* ꠸ꠚꠛꠞꠀꠃꠋꠉꠚꠉꠓꠑ[⌣ – ⌣ ꠚ]ꠇꠓꠟ
			[Cunningham, 1894.]
347	31·6	Æ ·55	*Rev.* ꠸ꠚꠛꠞꠀꠃꠋ[⌣ – – – ⌣ – ⌣]ꠞꠤꠚꠇꠓꠟ
			[I. O. C., 1882.]
348	31·5	Æ ·5	*Obv.* OHO l.; OHO r. *Rev.* ꠸ꠚꠛꠞꠀꠃꠋꠉꠚꠉꠓꠑꠐꠚꠞꠤꠚꠇꠓꠟ
			[Pres. by the Watson Museum, 1902.]
			Pl. XVII. 15.
349	30·8	Æ ·5	*Rev.* ꠸ꠚꠛꠞꠀꠃꠋꠉꠚꠉꠓ[⌣ – ⌣ – ⌣ ⌣ –]ꠇꠓꠟ
			[I. O. C., 1882.]

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
350	31·2	Æ ·5	*Obv.* OHO l.; HO r. *Rev.* [illegible] [Cunningham, 1894.] Pl. XVII. 16.
351	31·3	Æ ·55	*Obv.* OHO l. *Rev.* [illegible] [Pres. by the Watson Museum, 1902.] Pl. XVII. 17.
352	28·7	Æ ·55	*Obv.* OHO l. *Rev.* (IV) [illegible] [I. O. C., 1882.]
353	32·0	Æ ·5	*Obv.* HO r. *Rev.* [illegible] Pl. XVII. 18. [I. O. C., 1882.]
354	31·0	Æ ·6	*Obv.* HO r. *Rev.* [illegible] [Parkes Weber Gift, 1906.] Pl. XVII. 19.
355	33·0	Æ ·5	*Obv.* OHOHO l. *Rev.* [illegible] Pl. XVII. 20. [Prinsep, 1847.]
356	32·4	Æ ·5	*Obv.* OHOHO r. *Rev.* [illegible] [Pres. by Miss Newton, 1908.]

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
357	27·3	Æ ·5	*Obv.* OHOHOH r. *Rev.* ⊔J⊻[⁻˘˘˘]JE⊙JE⅁ŧ⊻J⊓Ч⊻ɪ⅋ƨƨ [Cunningham, 1894.] Pl. XVII. 21.
358	32·3	Æ ·5	*Rev.* ⊔J⊻ϟ⊓Δ⊼JE⊙JE⅁ŧ⊻J⊓Ч⊻ɪ⅋ƨƨ [I. O. C., 1882.]
359	32·0	Æ ·55	*Obv.* OHO l.; OHO r. *Rev.* ⊔J⊻ϟ⊓Δ⊼JE[˘– – – ˘ – ˘⊓]Ч⊻ɪ⅋ƨƨ [I. O. C., 1882.]
360	30·4	Æ ·5	*Obv.* OHOHO r. *Rev.* [˘˘]⊻ϟ⊓Δ⊼JE⊙JE⅁ŧ⊻J⊓ Pl. XVII. 22. [I. O. C., 1882.]
361	31·8	Æ ·6	*Obv.* OHOHO r. *Rev.* ⊔J⊻ϟ⊓Δ⊼JE⊙JE⅁ŧ⊻J⊓Ч⊻[ɪ⅋ƨƨ] [I. O. C., 1882.]
362	32·5	Æ ·5	*Rev.* [˘˘]⊻ϟ⊓Δ⊼JE⊙JE⅁ŧ⊻J⊓Ч [Cunningham, 1894.] Pl. XVII. 23.
363	30·8	Æ ·6	*Obv.* HOH r. *Rev.* [⊔J⊻]ϟ⊓Δ⊼JE⊙JE⅁ŧ⊻ [I. O. C., 1882.]
364	28·0	Æ ·5	*Obv.* OHO r. *Rev.* ⊔J⊻ϟ⊓Δ⊼JE⊙JE⅁[˘–˘–˘ ⊻ɪ]⅋ƨƨ Pl. XVII. 24. [I. O. C., 1882.]

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
365	31·4	Æ ·5	*Obv.* HOH *Rev.* [illegible]
			[Cunningham, 1894.]
366	32·5	Æ ·5	*Rev.* [illegible]
			[Cunningham, 1894.]
367	30·2	Æ ·5	*Rev.* [illegible]
			[Pres. by the Watson Museum, 1902.]
			The following coins, 368–84, of this variety have defective legends.
368	32·2	Æ ·5	*Obv.* ∩HOH∩∪ *Rev.* (VII) [illegible]
			Pl. XVII. 25. [I. O. C., 1882.]
369	30·7	Æ ·5	*Obv.* HOHO *Rev.* [illegible]
			[I. O. C., 1882.]
370	27·4	Æ ·55	*Obv.* OHO *Rev.* [illegible]
			Pl. XVII. 26. [Da Cuñha, 1904.]
371	31·0	Æ ·5	*Obv.* HOHO *Rev.* [illegible]
			Pl. XVII. 27. [I. O. C., 1882.]
372	34·7	Æ ·5	*Obv.* HO l.; HO r. *Rev.* [illegible]
			[I. O. C., 1882.]

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
373	28·7	Æ ·5	*Rev.* [illegible] [I. O. C., 1882.]
374	31·7	Æ ·5	*Obv.* [illegible] *Rev.* [illegible] [Prinsep, 1847.]
375	31·8	Æ ·5	*Rev.* [illegible] [Cunningham, 1894.]
376	30·9	Æ ·5	*Obv.* [illegible] l.; [illegible] r. *Rev.* [illegible] Pl. XVII. 28. [I. O. C., 1882.]
377	32·0	Æ ·5	*Obv.* [illegible] l.; [illegible] r. *Rev.* [illegible] [Pres. by the Watson Museum, 1902.]
378	32·8	Æ ·65	*Obv.* [illegible] l. *Rev.* [illegible] [I. O. C., 1882.]
379	32·5	Æ ·5	*Obv.* [illegible] l. *Rev.* (IX) [illegible] [Pres. by Miss Newton, 1908.]
380	32·3	Æ ·5	*Obv.* [illegible] r. *Rev.* [illegible] Pl. XVII. 29. [I. O. C., 1882.]
381	31·8	Æ ·5	*Obv.* [illegible] r. *Rev.* [illegible] [Pres. by Miss Newton, 1908.]

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
382	29·4	Æ ·5	*Obv.* OHO r. *Rev.* Pl. XVII. 30. [I. O. C., 1882.]
383	28·7	Æ ·55	*Obv.* OHOHO l. *Rev.* [⌣⌣⌣–⌣⌣⌣]  [I. O. C., 1882.]
384	32·3	Æ ·55	*Rev.* (VIII)  [Cunningham, 1894.] Pl. XVII. 31.

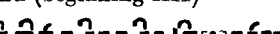
Class IV. Central Provinces.

Var. *a*.

Obv. Head of king to r. as on preceding silver coins; date on r. in Brāhmī numerals; no trace of Greek legends.

Rev. Peacock standing facing with head to l., wings and tail outspread; uncertain object, probably lotus-flower, on l.; border of dots.

Legend (beginning XII)



(*Vijitāvanir avanipati(ḥ) Kumāragupto divaṁ jayati*)

(Metre: Upagīti.)

385	31·4	Æ ·65	*Obv.* [ᘏ]ᘎᘍ *Rev.*  *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 129. Pl. XVIII. 1. [Purchased, 1878.]
386	30·2	Æ ·55	*Obv.* [⁻ᘎ]ᘍ *Rev.* [⌣⌣–]  [Cunningham, 1894.] Pl. XVIII. 2.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
387	29·0	Æ ·6	*Obv.* [illegible] *Rev.* [illegible] [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.]
388	31·7	Æ ·55	*Obv.* [illegible] *Rev.* [illegible] [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. XVIII. 3.**
389	25·6	Æ ·6	*Rev.* [illegible] [Prinsep, 1847.] **Pl. XVIII. 4.**
390	30·3	Æ ·55	*Rev.* [illegible] [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. XVIII. 5.**
			Var. *β*. *Obv.* As in var. *α*. *Rev.* As in var. *α*, but with three dots in place of lotus-flower.
391	28·5	Æ ·55	*Obv.* Traces of date. *Rev.* [illegible] [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.] **Pl. XVIII. 6.**
392	31·1	Æ ·55	*Rev.* [illegible] [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. XVIII. 7.**

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
			Var. γ.
			Obv. As in var. α.
			Rev. As in var. α, but field empty.
393	31·2	Æ ·6	*Obv.* [ ]
			Rev. [ ] [Cunningham, 1894.]
			Pl. XVIII. 9.
394	31·0	Æ ·6	*Obv.* [ ]
			Rev. [ ] [Cunningham, 1894.]
395	30·7	Æ ·55	*Obv.* [ ]
			Rev. [Cunningham, 1894.]
			Pl. XVIII. 8.
396	36·2	Æ ·55	*Obv.* Traces of date.
			Rev. [Cunningham, 1894.]
			Pl. XVIII. 10.
397	33·8	Æ ·55	*Rev.* [Prinsep, 1847.]
398	25·6	Æ ·55	*Obv.* [ ]
			Rev. [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.]
			Pl. XVIII. 11.

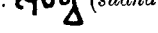
No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
399	32·1	Æ ·55	*Obv.* Traces of date. *Rev.* [illegible] [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. XVIII. 12.**
400	31·9	Æ ·55	*Rev.* [illegible] [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.]
401	27·0	Æ ·55	*Rev.* [illegible] [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.] **Pl. XVIII. 13.**
402	22·8	Æ ·6 (*plated*)	*Rev.* [illegible] [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. XVIII. 14.**
			Var. δ.
403	27·4	Æ ·55	*Obv.* As in var. *α–γ*, but different fabric. *Rev.* As in var. *γ*, but with margin between border of dots and legend, which begins at X and reads ***divi*** for *divaṁ*. *Rev.* [illegible] [Purchased, 1902.] **Pl. XVIII. 15.**

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
			Class V. Silver-plated coins. Valabhī fabric. *Obv.* Head r. as before; traces of Greek letters. *Rev.* Garuḍa, very crudely represented, standing facing; border of dots. Legend परमभागवत-राजाधिराज-श्री-कुमारगुप्त-महेन्द्रादित्यः (*Paramabhāgavata-rājādhirāja-Śrī-Kumāragupta-Mahendrādityaḥ*)
404	30·4	Æ ·45 (*plated*)	*Obv.* HO *Rev.* परमभागवत [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.] **Pl. XVIII. 16.**
405	35·9	Æ ·45 (*plated*)	*Obv.* OHO *Rev.* [˘˘˘–˘˘˘––˘––]महेन्द्र[रादित्य] **Pl. XVIII. 17.** [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.]
406	31·8	Æ ·4 (*plated*)	*Obv.* HO *Rev.* [˘˘˘–˘˘˘––˘–––˘–˘–]गुप्त[रादित्य] [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.]
407	23·7	Æ ·4 (*plated*)	*Rev.* परम[˘––˘–––˘–˘–˘˘]रादित्य [Pres. by Miss Newton, 1908.] **Pl. XVIII. 18.**
408	28·3	Æ ·45	*Obv.* OHOH *Rev.* [˘˘˘–˘˘˘]परमेन्द्र[रादित्य] **Pl. XVIII. 19.** [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.]

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
409	25·5	Æ ·4	*Obv.* H *Rev.* [˘˘˘–˘˘˘––]ꠁꠇꠞꠉꠀ [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.]
410	26·6	Æ ·45	*Rev.* [˘˘˘–˘˘˘––˘––]ꠀꠞꠉꠀꠄꠉꠁ Pl. XVIII. 20. [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.]
411	34·3	Æ ·45	*Rev.* ꠁꠉꠉꠀꠀ [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.]
412	33·5	Æ ·45	*Obv.* OHO *Rev.* [˘˘˘–˘˘˘––˘––]ꠀꠞꠉꠀꠄꠉꠁꠅꠇ [Pres. by the Watson Museum, 1902.] Pl. XVIII. 21.
413	22·6	Æ ·35	*Rev.* [˘˘˘–˘˘˘––˘––]ꠀꠞꠉꠀꠄꠉꠁꠅ [Pres. by Miss Newton, 1908.] Pl. XVIII. 22.
414	29·3	Æ ·4	*Obv.* OH on l. *Rev.* ꠁꠉꠉ[˘˘˘––˘–––˘–˘]ꠀꠄꠉꠁꠅꠇ [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.]
415	28·4	Æ ·45	*Rev.* [˘˘]ꠉꠉꠀꠀꠃꠉꠋꠉꠋꠞꠉꠀꠄ [Pres. by the Watson Museum, 1902.] Pl. XVIII. 23.
416	29·5	Æ ·45	*Rev.* [˘˘˘–˘˘˘––˘––]ꠀꠞꠉꠀꠄꠉꠁꠅ Pl. XVIII. 24. [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.]

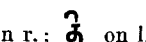
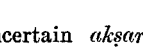
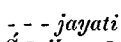
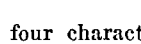
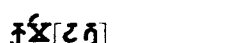
No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Copper Coins.	
			Type I.	
			King standing l., wearing waistcloth and jewellery, l. hand on hip, apparently throwing incense on altar with r. hand.	Garuḍa with outstretched wings standing facing. 𑀓𑀼𑀫𑀸𑀭𑀕𑀼𑀧𑁆𑀢𑀲𑁆 (*Kumāraguptaḥ*)
–	—	Æ ·7		𑀓𑀼𑀫𑀸𑀭𑀕𑀼𑀧𑁆[𑀢] [Bodleian, no. 751.]
			N. C., 1891, Pl. II. 15, p. 64.	
			Type II.	
			Altar; border of dots. 𑀰𑀼 (*Śrī-Ku*)	Goddess (Lakṣmī) seated on lion couchant r., facing, holding cornucopiae in l. arm and lotus (?) in r. hand; border of dots.
–	—	Æ ·65	𑀰𑀼	[Indian Museum.] **Pl. XVIII. 25.**
			I. M. Cat., i, p. 120, no. 3, Pl. XVII. 2.	
–	—	Æ ·65	𑀰𑀼	[St. Petersburg.] **Pl. XVIII. 26.**

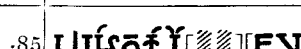
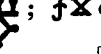
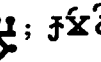
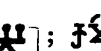
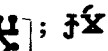
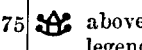
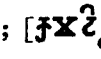
A third specimen of this rare coinage was published as a Hun coin by Vincent Smith in his paper on 'White Hun Coins from the Panjab' (*J.R.A.S.*, 1907, p. 96, no. 1 on Plate); he wrongly read the inscription *Śrī To*, and ascribed it to Torāmaṇa.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			SKANDAGUPTA, A. D. 455–*c.* 480.	
			Issues on old standard 132 grains.	
			Archer Type.	
			King standing l., nimbate, as on preceding Archer types, holding bow in l. and arrow in r. hand. Garuḍa standard bound with fillet on l. Beneath l. arm  (*Skanda*) Legend incomplete; on r.  (*Jayati mah(ī)tala(m)*) on l.  (*sudhanvī*)	Goddess (Lakṣmī), nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding fillet in outstretched r. hand and lotus in l., which rests on knee. Symbol on l.  (*Śrī-Skandaguptaḥ*)
417	130·2	Æ ·75	 on r.; on l. (*ja*) between feet.	 [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. XIX. 1.**
			'From Ghazipur'; *P.E.*, i, Pl. XXIX. 18 (?); *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 198; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 112.	
418	130·1	Æ ·75	on l.; no l.	 [Brind, 1859.] **Pl. XIX. 2.**
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 198; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 112.	
419	129·5	Æ ·8	[] between feet.	 [I. O. C., 1882.] **Pl. XIX. 3.**
			Ibid.	

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
420	132·5	Æ ·75	on r.; [] on l.	 ; [] [I. O. C., 1882.] **Pl. XIX. 4.**
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 198, Pl. IV. 4; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 112, Pl. III. 7.	
421	132·0	Æ ·75	on l.	[];  [I. O. C., 1882.] **Pl. XIX. 5.**
			J.A.S.B., 1884, p. 198; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 112.	
–	132·3	Æ ·75	on r.; on l. between feet.	 ;  [St. Petersburg.]
			Formerly in the Grant collection. 'From Oudh'; *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 112; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 112.	

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			King and Lakṣmī Type.	
			On l. Skandagupta standing to r., wearing waistcloth and jewellery, holding bow by middle at his l. knee in l. hand, while r. rests on r. hip holding arrow; on r. the goddess Lakṣmī standing l., holding uncertain object in uplifted r. hand and lotus with long stalk behind her in l. hand; between them Garuḍa standard. Legend as on preceding type (?).	Goddess (Lakṣmī), nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding fillet in outstretched r. hand and lotus in l., which rests on knee. Symbol on l. 𑀰𑀻𑀲𑁆𑀓𑀨𑁆𑀢𑀫𑀳𑁃: (*Śrī-Skandaguptaḥ*)
422	128·8	Æ ·75	𑀲𑀻𑀫 on r.: 𑀓 on l.	𑀬𑁂; 𑀰𑀻𑀲𑁆𑀓𑀨𑁆𑀢𑀫𑀳𑁃: [Prinsep, 1847.] **Pl. XIX. 6.**
			'Purchased in Kanauj by Mr. Bacon and presented to Prinsep'; *P.E.*, i, Pl. XXIII. 24, p. 279; *J.A.S.B.*, 1884, p. 199, Pl. IV. 5: *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 111, Pl. III. 6.	
423	129·8	Æ ·75	𑀲𑀻 on r.: [𑀫] 𑀓 on l.	𑀬𑁂; 𑀰𑀻𑀲𑁆𑀓𑀨𑁆[ᵕ̈] [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. XIX. 7.**
–	131·3	Æ ·8	[𑀲𑀻𑀫] on r.: 𑀫𑀫 𑀓 on l.	𑀬𑁂; 𑀰𑀻𑀲𑁆𑀓𑀨𑁆𑀢𑀫𑀳𑁃: [Indian Museum.] **Pl. XIX. 8.**
			I. M. Cat., i, p. 117, no. 7, Pl. XVI. 9.	

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
–	—	*Æ* ·75	 on r.; on l.	 [Bibl. Nat.] **Pl. XIX. 9.**
			'From Bhitari'; formerly in Mr. Vincent Smith's collection; *J.A.S.B.*, 1894, p. 169, Pl. VI. 6.	
			The other known specimens of this type are the second I. M. specimen from Midnapur (*Cat.*, i, p. 127); Mr. Ernst's specimen (*J.A.S.B.*, 1894, p. 170); and a specimen in the possession of Captain Reinhold.	
			Later Issues on Heavy Standard 146·4 grains.	
			Archer Type.	
			King standing l. as on early Archer type, but wearing long sash. Garuḍa standard on l.  (*Skanda*) with crescent above, beneath l. arm. Eight uncertain *akṣaras* followed by  (- - - - - - - - *jayati divaṁ Śrī-Kramādityaḥ*) (Metre: Upagīti.)	Goddess (Lakṣmī) seated facing on lotus as on preceding coins. Symbol on l.  (*Kramādityaḥ*)
424	134·4 (*worn*)	*Æ* ·8	Traces of four characters on r., and  on l.	[Cunningham, 1894.]
425	150·0 (*with ring*)	*Æ* ·8		 [Marsden, MLV.] **Pl. XIX. 10.**
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 112.	

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
426	142·8	Æ ·85		 ;  [Purchased, 1899.] Pl. XIX. 11.
427	142·6	Æ ·85	No trace of inscr. on r., ends on l.	 ;  [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] Pl. XIX. 12.
428	141·1	Æ ·8	Final alone legible.	[] ;  [Prinsep, 1847.]
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 112, Pl. III. 8.	
429	138·7	Æ ·9	[]	[] ;  [Cunningham, 1894.] Pl. XIX. 13.
			'From Gayā'; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 112.	
–	—	Æ ·8		[] ;  Pl. XIX. 14. [From a plaster cast in the B. M.]
–	141·5	Æ ·75	 above on l.; no trace of legend.	 ; [] [In the Hon. Mr. Burn's collection.] Pl. XIX. 15.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
430	142·0	Æ ·8	No trace of legend.	 [Pres. by H. Rivett-Carnac, Esq., 1887.] **Pl. XX. 1.**
431	141·7	Æ ·8	No trace of legend.	[Pres. by H. Rivett-Carnac, Esq., 1887.] **Pl. XX. 2.**

Nos. 430–1, which are from the same dies, were found together: they differ considerably in fabric from the others, and do not appear to have had marginal legends.

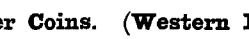
Silver Coins. (Western Issues.)

Garuḍa Type.[1]

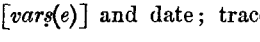
Obv. Bust of king to r., as on silver of Candragupta II.
On l.  [*varṣ(e)*] and date; traces of Greek legend on r.

Rev. Garuḍa standing facing with outstretched wings; beneath cluster of seven dots ; above on r., border of dots.

Inscr. around (beginning III)



(*Paramabhāgavata-mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Skandagupta-Kramādityaḥ*)

432	27·0	Æ ·55	*Obv.* 	
			Rev. 	**Pl. XX. 3.** [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.]

[1] Corresponding to silver coins of Candragupta II, and to Class I, var. *a* of Kumāragupta I.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
433	29·2	Æ ·55	*Obv.* *Rev.*  Pl. XX. 4. [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.]
434	31·6	Æ ·55	*Obv.*  *Rev.*  Pl. XX. 5. [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.]
435	29·7	Æ ·55	*Rev.* Pl. XX. 6. [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.]
436	24·1	Æ ·5	*Obv.*  *Rev.*  [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.]
437	28·1	Æ ·45	*Rev.* [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.]
438	22·8	Æ ·5	*Rev.*  [Prinsep, 1847.]
439	33·4	Æ ·5	*Obv.* *Rev.*  Pl. XX. 7. [Prinsep, 1847.]
			The following coins, 440–2, have defective legends.
440	29·7	Æ ·5	*Obv.* *Rev.*  [Cunningham, 1894.]

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
441	31·1	Æ ·55	*Rev.* 𑀯𑀚𑀢𑀦𑀫𑀯𑀲𑀯𑀚𑀭𑀕𑀼𑀢𑀲𑀘𑀭𑀼
442	31·2	Æ ·5	*Rev.* 𑀯𑀚𑀢𑀦𑀫𑀯𑀲𑀯𑀚𑀭𑀕𑀼𑀢𑀲𑀘𑀭𑀼 Pl. XX. 8. [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.]
			The following coins, 443–4, have ∴ for 𑀯 in the inscr.
443	33·2	Æ ·55	*Obv.* 𑀳𑀁𑀴 *Rev.* 𑀯𑀚∴𑀢𑀦𑀫∴𑀯𑀚𑀏𑀭𑀚𑀏 ⁻⁻ᵕ 𑀮𑀕𑀢∴𑀘𑀭𑀼 [Claude Steuart, 1853.]
444	28·7	Æ ·5	*Obv.* 𑀴𑀑 *Rev.* 𑀯𑀚∴𑀢[ᵕᵕᵕᵕ⁻⁻⁻ᵕ⁻⁻⁻⁻ᵕ⁻]𑀕𑀢∴𑀘𑀭𑀼 [Prinsep, 1847.]
			Bull Type. *Obv.* Head r. as before; no trace of Greek letters. *Rev.* Śiva's bull, Nandi, recumbent to r. Legends defective.
445	25·6	Æ ·5	*Rev.* 𑀯𑀚𑀯[⁻ᵕᵕ⁻⁻⁻ᵕ]𑀮𑀕𑀢𑀯𑀘𑀭𑀼 [Claude Steuart, 1853.] Pl. XX. 9.
446	27·0	Æ ·5	*Rev.* 𑀯𑀚𑀯𑀢𑀦𑀫𑀯𑀲𑀕𑀢𑀼 [Prinsep, 1847.] *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 131, Pl. IV. 5. Pl. XX. 10.
447	20·9	Æ ·5	*Rev.* 𑀯𑀚𑀯𑀢𑀦𑀫𑀚𑀏𑀭𑀚𑀏 [Prinsep, 1847.]
448	25·2	Æ ·5	*Rev.* 𑀯𑀚𑀯[ᵕᵕᵕᵕ⁻]𑀕𑀢𑀮𑀕𑀢𑀯𑀘𑀭𑀼 [Pres. by the Watson Museum, 1902.] Pl. XX. 11.

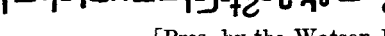
No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
149	24·6	Æ ·6	*Rev.* [Pres. by the Watson Museum, 1902.] Pl. XX. 12.
450	29·5	Æ ·5	*Rev.*  [Pres. by the Watson Museum, 1902.]

Altar Type.

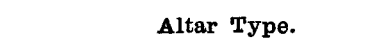
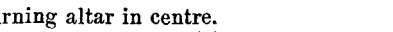
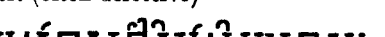
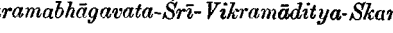
Class I. Title *Vikramāditya.*

Obv. Bust r.; traces of Greek legend.

Rev. Burning altar in centre.
Inscr. (often defective)[1]



(*Paramabhāgavata-Śrī-Vikramāditya-Skandaguptaḥ*)

451	26·4	Æ ·5	*Rev.* (VI) [⏑⏑–⏑⏑–]  Pl. XX. 13.	[Prinsep, 1847.]
452	26·6	Æ ·5	*Obv.* OH⏑O on r. *Rev.*  Pl. XX. 14.	[Prinsep, 1847.]
453	26·7	Æ ·55	*Obv.* ⏑H on r. *Rev.* [⏑⏑–⏑⏑–––⏑––] 	[Prinsep, 1847.]
454	27·8	Æ ·5	*Obv.* OHO on l. *Rev.* 	[Prinsep, 1847.]
455	28·2	Æ ·5	*Obv.* H⏑H on r. *Rev.* [⏑⏑–⏑⏑–] 	[Prinsep, 1847.]

J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 133, Pl. IV. 6.

[1] Cf. Nos. 454–456, 459–461, 466, 467.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
456	26·4	Æ ·5	*Obv.* OH on l. *Rev.* [ᐯ ᐯ ᐯ – ᐯ ᐯ] ᐊᐲᐁᐃᐯᐱᐁᐧᐦ [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.] Pl. XX. 15.
457	32·8	Æ ·55	*Rev.* [ᐯ ᐯ ᐯ – ᐯ ᐯ] ᐊᐲᐁᐃᐯᐱᐟᐁᐧᐦᐢ [Prinsep, 1847.] Pl. XX. 16.
458	26·8	Æ ·5	*Rev.* [ᐯ ᐯ ᐯ – ᐯ] ᐃᐊᐲᐁᐃᐯᐱᐟᐁᐧᐦᐢ [Prinsep, 1847.]
459	30·6	Æ ·5	*Rev.* ᑌᐱᐯᐁᑌᐊᐲᐁᐃᐯ [– – – – ᐯ] ᐦᐧ [Prinsep, 1847.]
460	31·6	Æ ·5	*Rev.* ᑌᐱᐯᐁᑌᐊᐲ [ᐯ – – –] ᐢᐦᐢᐣᐦᐧ [Prinsep, 1847.]
461	27·3	Æ ·5	*Rev.* [ᐯ] ᐱᐯᐁᑌᐊᐲᐁᐃᐯᐱᐯ [Prinsep, 1847.]
462	25·7	Æ ·5	*Obv.* OH on l. *Rev.* [ᐯ ᐯ ᐯ – ᐯ ᐯ] ᐲᐁᐃᐯᐱᐟᐁᐧᐦᐢ [Prinsep, 1847.] Pl. XX. 17.
463	26·0	Æ ·4	*Rev.* (VII) ᑌ [ᐯ ᐯ – ᐯ ᐯ – – – ᐨᐯᐱ] ᐟᐁᐧᐦᐢᐢᐣᐦᐧ [Prinsep, 1847.]
464	20·6	Æ ·45	*Rev.* [ᐯ ᐯ ᐯ] ᐊᐣᐃᐃᐊᐲᐁᐃᐯᐱᐯ [Cunningham, 1894.]
465	30·1	Æ ·5	*Rev.* [ᑌᐱᐯ – ᐯ ᐯ – – – ᐯ – –] ᐢᐦᐢᐣᐦᐧ [Prinsep, 1847.]
466	26·1	Æ ·5	*Obv.* ᐯH on r.; ᐯ on l. *Rev.* (IX) [ᐯ ᐱᐯ] ᐊᐣᐃᐃᐲᐁᐃᐯᐱᐯᐟᐁᐧᐦᐢ [Ogilvy, 1861.] Pl. XX. 18.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
467	30·7	Æ ·5	*Rev.* [illegible] [Pres. by Miss Newton, 1908.]
468	31·0	Æ ·5	*Obv.* [illegible] on l. *Rev.* [illegible] [Prinsep, 1847.] Pl. XX. 19.
469	24·7	Æ ·5	*Rev.* [illegible] [Prinsep, 1847.]
470	24·8	Æ ·5	*Rev.* [illegible] [Prinsep, 1847.] Pl. XX. 20.
471	26·5	Æ ·55	*Rev.* [illegible] [Prinsep, 1847.]

Class II. *Kramāditya.*

Var. *a.*

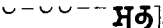
Obv. Bust r. as before; traces of Greek letters.

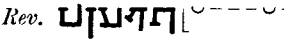
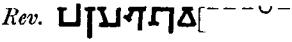
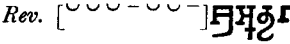
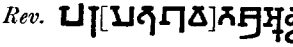
Rev. Altar.

[illegible]

(*Paramabhāgavata-Śrī-Skandagupta-Kramādityaḥ*)

472	26·6	Æ ·45	*Obv.* [illegible] *Rev.* (VI) [illegible] [Pres. by Miss Newton, 1908.] Pl. XX. 21.
473	28·1	Æ ·5	*Rev.* [illegible] [Prinsep, 1847.]

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
474	28·3	Æ ·5	*Rev.* [[Prinsep, 1847.]
475	30·7	Æ ·5	*Rev.* (VII) [ [Prinsep, 1847.]
476	30·1	Æ ·5	*Rev.*  [Prinsep, 1847.] Pl. XX. 22.
477	28·4	Æ ·5	*Rev.*  [Prinsep, 1847.] Pl. XX. 23.
478	26·2	Æ ·5	*Rev.* [ [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.] Pl. XX. 24.
479	28·7	Æ ·5	*Rev.*  [Prinsep, 1847.]
480	25·5	Æ ·45	*Rev.* [Prinsep, 1847.]
			The following coins, Nos. 481, 482, have defective inscriptions.
481	29·4	Æ ·5	*Rev.* (X)  [Prinsep, 1847.]
482	29·7	Æ ·5	*Rev.* [Pres. by Miss Newton, 1908.]
			Var. β. Fabric of Class I.
			Obv. As var. α.
			Rev. As var. α.
483	30·5	Æ ·45	*Rev.* (IX) [[Prinsep, 1847.]
484	27·2	Æ ·45	*Rev.*  Pl. XX. 25. [Prinsep, 1847.]

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
485	31·4	Æ ·45	*Rev.*  [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.] Pl. XX. 26.
486	28·6	Æ ·5	*Rev.*  [Prinsep, 1847.]
487	28·6	Æ ·5	*Rev.*  [Prinsep, 1847.]
488	28·3	Æ ·45	*Rev.* Pl. XX. 27. [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.]
489	32·5	Æ ·45	*Rev.*  Pl. XX. 28. [Prinsep, 1847.]
490	29·6	Æ ·5	*Obv.* HOH *Rev.* *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 129, Pl. IV. 7. Pl. XX. 29.
491	29·2	Æ ·5	*Rev.* [Prinsep, 1847.]
492	30·5	Æ ·45	*Rev.*  [Prinsep, 1847.]
493	29·2	Æ ·45	*Rev.*  [Prinsep, 1847.]
494	29·1	Æ ·45	*Obv.* OH *Rev.* [Prinsep, 1847.]
495	27·6	Æ ·5	*Obv.* OHO *Rev.*  [Prinsep, 1847.] Pl. XXI. 1.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
496	28·4	Æ ·45	*Rev.* [᳝ ᳝ - ᳝ ᳝] 𑀲𑀓𑁆𑀦𑀕𑀼𑀧𑀜𑀬 [Prinsep, 1847.]
497	28·2	Æ ·45	*Rev.* [᳝ ᳝] 𑀬𑀵𑀘𑀝𑀲𑀲𑀲𑀓𑁆𑀦𑀕𑀼𑀧 [Prinsep, 1847.]
498	27·3	Æ ·45	*Rev.* 𑀘𑀘𑀬𑀘𑀝𑀲𑀲𑀲[᳝ - ᳝]𑀧𑀜𑀬𑁂𑀶 [Prinsep, 1847.] Pl. XXI. 2.
499	26·3	Æ ·45	*Rev.* 𑀘𑀘𑀬[᳝ ᳝ - - - ᳝ - -]𑀜𑀬𑁂𑀶 [Prinsep, 1847.]
500	29·5	Æ ·45	*Rev.* 𑀘𑀘𑀬𑀘𑀝𑀲𑀲𑀲[𑀢 ᳝ -]𑀧𑀜𑀬𑁂𑀶 Pl. XXI. 3. [Claude Steuart, 1853.]
501	31·2	Æ ·45	*Rev.* 𑀘𑀘𑀬𑀘𑀝[᳝ - - - ᳝ - -]𑀜𑀬𑁂𑀶 [Prinsep, 1847.]
502	26·7	Æ ·45	*Obv.* OHO on r. *Rev.* [᳝ ᳝]𑀬𑀵𑀘𑀝𑀲𑀲𑀲𑀢𑁆𑀶 [Prinsep, 1847.] Pl. XXI. 4.
503	27·4	Æ ·5	*Rev.* [᳝ ᳝]𑀬𑀵𑀘𑀝𑀲𑀲𑀲𑀢𑁆𑀶𑀓𑀼𑀧𑀜𑀬𑁂𑀶 [Prinsep, 1847.]
504	30·2	Æ ·45	*Obv.* OHO on l. *Rev.* [᳝ ᳝ ᳝]𑀵𑀘𑀝𑀲𑀲𑀲𑀢𑁆𑀶 [Prinsep, 1847.]
505	29·6	Æ ·45	*Rev.* [𑀧 ᳝ ᳝ - ᳝ ᳝ - - - ᳝]𑀓𑀼𑀧𑀜𑀬𑁂𑀶 [Prinsep, 1847.]
506	20·5	Æ ·5	*Rev.* 𑀘𑀘𑀬𑀘𑀝𑀲𑀲𑀲𑀢𑁆𑀶𑀓𑀼𑀧𑀜𑀬𑁂𑀶 [Prinsep, 1847.] Pl. XXI. 5.
507	26·9	Æ ·5	*Rev.* 𑀘𑀘𑀧[᳝ ᳝ -]𑀲𑀲𑀢𑁆𑀶𑀓𑀼𑀧𑀜𑀬𑁂𑀶 [Prinsep, 1847.]

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.	
508	29·8	Æ ·45	*Rev.* [𑀧𑀭𑀫]𑀫𑀳𑀥𑀫𑀓𑀢𑁂	[Prinsep, 1847.]
509	30·7	Æ ·45	*Rev.* 𑀧𑀭𑀫𑀫𑀳𑀥[‿ ‿ ‿ ‿]𑀫𑁂𑀚𑀬𑀢𑁂	[Prinsep, 1847.]
510	24·8	Æ ·4	*Rev.* [‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿ ‿]𑀓𑀢𑁂𑀦𑀫𑁂𑀚𑀬	[Prinsep, 1847.]
511	29·2	Æ ·55	*Rev.* [‿ ‿ ‿ ‿]𑀦𑀥𑀫𑀓𑀢𑁂𑀦𑀫𑁂	[Prinsep, 1847.]
				Pl. XXI. 6.
512	25·8	Æ ·45	*Rev.* [‿ ‿]𑀪𑀫𑀦𑀥𑀫𑀓𑀢𑁂	[Prinsep, 1847.]
				Pl. XXI. 7.
513	28·7	Æ ·5	*Rev.* 𑀧𑀭𑀫𑀫𑀳𑀥𑀫𑀓𑀢𑁂𑀦𑀫𑁂𑀚𑀬𑀢𑁂	[Prinsep, 1847.]
			Var. γ. Coins of ruder fabric.	
			Obv. As var. α.	
			Rev. As var. α, but inscr. defective.	
514	24·7	Æ ·4	*Rev.* 𑀧𑀓𑀢𑁂𑀦𑀫𑁂𑀚𑀬𑀢𑁂	[Pres. by Miss Newton, 1908.]
				Pl. XXI. 8.
515	26·0	Æ ·4	*Rev.* 𑀚𑀬𑀢𑁂	[Bhagvānlāl, 1889.]
516	26·8	Æ ·5	*Rev.* 𑀓𑀢𑁂𑀦𑀫𑁂𑀚𑀬𑀢𑁂	[Pres. by Miss Newton, 1908.]
517	29·6	Æ ·45	*Rev.* 𑀓𑀢𑁂𑀦𑀫	[Claude Steuart, 1853.]
				Pl. XXI. 9.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
518	29·3	Æ ·45	*Rev.* 𑀭𑀳𑀺𑀢[ ]𑀲𑀼 [Cunningham, 1894.] Pl. XXI. 10.
519	20·9	Æ ·4	*Rev.* 𑀭𑀳𑀺𑀢 [Cunningham, 1894.]
520	23·6	Æ ·4	*Rev.* 𑀭𑀳𑀼 [Cunningham, 1894.]
			Class III. Without *āditya* title.
			Obv. As preceding.
			Rev. As preceding, but inscr. (VI) 𑀧𑀭𑀫𑀪𑀕𑀯𑀢𑀲𑀺𑀭𑀻𑀳𑀕𑀼𑀢𑀲𑁆 (*Paramabhāgavata-Śrī-Skandaguptaḥ*)
521	29·0	Æ ·4	*Rev.* 𑀧𑀭𑀫[ ]𑀳𑀕𑀼𑀢 [Prinsep, 1847.] Pl. XXI. 11.
522	30·5	Æ ·4	*Rev.* 𑀧𑀭𑀫[ ]𑀳𑀕𑀼𑀢 [Prinsep, 1847.] Pl. XXI. 12.
			Central Provinces. **Class I.**
			Obv. Bust of Skandagupta r.; date in Brāhmī numerals vertically on r.
			Rev. Peacock standing facing with wings and tail outspread; border of dots. Inscr. (beginning I) 𑀯𑀺𑀚𑀺𑀢𑀸𑀯𑀦𑀺𑀭𑀯𑀦𑀺𑀧𑀢𑀺𑀰𑀺𑀯𑀁𑀲𑁆𑀓𑀦𑁆𑀤𑀕𑀼𑀧𑁆𑀢𑁄 (*Vijitāvanir avanipatir jayati divaṁ Skandagupto 'yaṁ*) (Metre: Upagīti.)
523	35·4	Æ ·55	*Obv.* 𑀮𑀳 *Rev.* 𑀅𑀚𑀸𑀅𑀦𑀺𑀧𑀢𑀺𑀰𑀺𑀯𑀁𑀲𑁆𑀓𑀦𑁆𑀤𑀕𑀼𑀧𑁆𑀢𑁄 [Cunningham, 1894.] Pl. XXI. 13.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
524	32·1	Æ ·6	*Obv.* *Rev.*  [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. XXI. 14.**
525	32·4	Æ ·6	*Obv.* *Rev.*  [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. XXI. 15.**
526	32·0	Æ ·6	*Obv.* *Rev.*  [Pres. by Major R. C. Temple, 1892.]
527	34·3	Æ ·6	*Obv.* *Rev.* [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. XXI. 16.**
528	32·8	Æ ·6	*Obv.*  *Rev.*  [Cunningham, 1894.]
529	31·4	Æ ·6	*Obv.* *Rev.*  [Cunningham, 1894.]
530	32·7	Æ ·55	*Obv.* *Rev.*  [Cunningham, 1894.]
531	30·1	Æ ·6	*Obv.*  *Rev.*  [Cunningham, 1894.]

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
532	30·8	R ·55	*Obv.* [illegible] *Rev.* [illegible] [Pres. by Major R. C. Temple, 1892.]
533	26·5	R ·55	*Obv.* [illegible] *Rev.* [illegible] [Cunningham, 1894.]
534	33·5	R ·55	*Obv.* [illegible] *Rev.* [illegible] [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.]
535	26·5	R ·6	*Rev.* [illegible] [Cunningham, 1894.] Pl. XXI. 17.
536	35·4	R ·6	*Rev.* [illegible] [Cunningham, 1894.] Pl. XXI. 18.
537	30·2	R ·6	*Rev.* [illegible] [Cunningham, 1894.]
538	33·8	R ·6	*Rev.* [illegible] [Cunningham, 1894.]
539	36·2	R ·55	*Rev.* [illegible] Pl. XXI. 19. [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.]
540	27·9	R ·55	*Rev.* [illegible] [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.]

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
541	28·3	Æ ·6	*Rev.*  [A. Grant, 1885.]
542	36·7	Æ ·55	*Rev.* [Cunningham, 1894.]
543	34·6	Æ ·55	*Rev.* [Cunningham, 1894.]
544	34·4	Æ ·55	*Rev.*  [Cunningham, 1894.]
545	32·0	Æ ·55	*Rev.* [Cunningham, 1894.]
546	28·7	Æ ·55	*Rev.*  [Cunningham, 1894.]

Class II.

Obv. As in Class I.

Rev. As in Class I, but inscr.



(*Vijitāvanir avanipatiḥ Śrī-Skandagupto divaṁ jayati*)

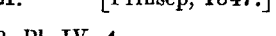
(Metre: Upagīti.)

Var. α.

547 31·2 Æ ·55 *Obv.*

Rev. 

Pl. XXI. 20. [Bhagvānlāl, 1889.]

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
			Var. β. Of different fabric.
			Obv. As preceding.
			Rev. As preceding.
548	33·5	Æ ·55	*Obv.* 
			Rev. 
			Pl. XXI. 21. [Prinsep, 1847.]
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 133, Pl. IV. 4.
549	36·0	Æ ·55	*Rev.* 
			[Cunningham, 1894.]
			Pl. XXI. 22.
			C.M.I., Pl. II. 10.

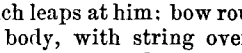
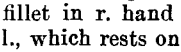
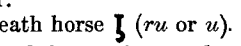
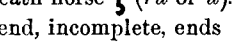
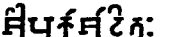
No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			PURAGUPTA (*c.* A.D. 480–485 ?).	
			Archer Type.	
			Var. *a*. With name *Pura* in field.	
			King, nimbate, standing l. as on preceding Archer types, holding bow in l. hand and arrow in r. Garuḍa standard on l. Beneath l. arm  (*Pura*) with crescent above.  Legend uncertain, probably similar to Skandagupta, Class II.	Goddess (Lakṣmī), nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding lotus in l. and fillet in r. hand. Symbol on l. On r.  (*Śrī-Vikramaḥ*)
–	—	*Æ* ·95	 r.	 [In Dr. W. Hoey's collection.] **Pl. XXI. 23.**
			Var. *β*. Without *Pura*.	
			Similar to var. *a*, but without *Pura* under l. arm.	Similar to var. *a*.
550	142·7	*Æ* ·9	 r.;  l.	 [Purchased, 1893.] **Pl. XXI. 24.**
551	141·4	*Æ* ·95	r.; l.	[H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. XXI. 25.**

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
–	—	Æ ·8	r.; l.	[In the Hon. Mr. Burn's collection.]

Pl. XXI. 26.

[——] PRAKĀŚĀDITYA; perhaps identical with PURAGUPTA.

Horseman Type.

			King to r. on horseback, slaying with sword in r. hand lion which leaps at him: bow round his body, with string over l. shoulder. Garuḍa standard on r. Beneath horse (*ru* or *u*). Legend, incomplete, ends (*vijitya vasudhāṁ divaṁ jayati*) (Metre: Upagīti.)	Goddess (Lakṣmī), nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding fillet in r. hand and lotus in l., which rests on knee. Symbol on l. (*Śrī-Prakāśādityaḥ*)
552	145·2	Æ ·8	 	 [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. XXII. 1.**
553	145·1	Æ ·7	 	 [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. XXII. 2.**

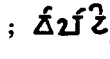
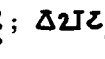
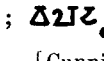
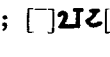
Bharsar hoard?; *J.A.S.B.*, 1852, p. 400, Pl. XII. 9; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 116.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
554	145·0	Æ ·8	[ ]ꠀꠁꠂꠃꠄꠅ꠆ꠇ	; [ ]ꠀꠁꠂꠃ[ꠄ] [R. S., 1840.] Pl. XXII. 3.
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 116, Pl. III. 9.	
555	146·2	Æ ·75	[ ]ꠀꠁꠂꠃꠄꠅ꠆ꠇ	; [ ]ꠀꠁꠂꠃꠄ [I. O. C., 1882.] Pl. XXII. 4.
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 116.	
556	136·0	Æ ·8	[ ]ꠀꠁꠂꠃꠄꠅ꠆ꠇ	; [ ]ꠀꠁꠂꠃꠄ [Purchased, 1868.]
			Ibid.	
557	145·8	Æ ·8	[ ] Three pellets in place of Garuḍa.	; [ ]ꠀꠁꠂꠃ[ꠄ]: [I. O. C., 1882.] Pl. XXII. 5.
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 116, Pl. III. 10.	
–	145·8	Æ ·8	[ ]ꠀꠁꠂꠃꠄꠅ꠆ꠇ	; [ ]ꠀꠁꠂꠃꠄ [Indian Museum.] Pl. XXII. 6.
			'From Hardoi in Oudh'; *I. M. Cat.*, i, p. 119, Pl. XVI. 10.	

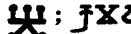
No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			NARASIṄHAGUPTA BĀLĀDITYA (*c.* A.D. 485–530) **Archer Type. Class I.** King nimbate, standing l., wearing waistcloth with long sash and jewellery, holding bow in l. and arrow in r. hand. Garuḍa standard on l.  (*Nara*) beneath l. arm.   (?) between feet. Legend incomplete on known coins; it ends [(ɛ)ꤗꤰ]? ꤳꤢꤟꤪꤢꤢꤵ: (*jayati Narasiṅhagupṭaḥ*)	Goddess (Lakṣmī) nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding fillet and lotus; border of dots. Symbol on l. ꤀ꤢꤟꤢꤤꤵ: (*Bālādityaḥ*)
558	144·5	Æ ·9	[ꤶꤗꤰ] on r. ꤳꤢꤟꤪꤢꤢꤵ: on l.	 ; ꤀ꤢꤟꤢꤤꤵ [Prinsep, 1847.] **Pl. XXII. 7.**
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 117.	
559	148·7	Æ ·85	No trace of inscr.	; ꤀ꤢꤟꤢꤤꤵ [Yeaman, 1859.] **Pl. XXII. 8.**
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 117, Pl. III. 11.	
560	146·4	Æ ·85	[ꤟꤪꤢꤢꤵ] on l.	[—]; ꤀ꤢꤟꤢꤤꤵ [H. Nelson Wright, 1910.] **Pl. XXII. 9.**

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Class II.	
			Coins of very rude fabric without obverse marginal legends.	
			King l. as in Class I. 𑀦 (*Nara*) below l. arm. 𑁆 𑀦𑁆 between feet. No trace of marginal legend.	Goddess, &c., as in Class I.
561	143·5	A˙ ·8		𑀲; 𑀲𑀭𑀫𑁆 [Newman, 1853.] **Pl. XXII. 10.** *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 117.
562	146·5	A˙ ·8		[—]; [̄ ̄𑀫𑁆] [Marsden, MLIV.[1]] *Ibid.*
563	147·8	A˙ ·85		𑀲; [̄]𑀲𑀭𑀫𑁆 [Cracherode Gift, 1799.[1]]
564	147·4	A˙ ·85		𑀲; 𑀲[̄𑀫𑁆] [Pres. by the E. I. C.[1]]
565	144·4	A˙ ·85		[—]; [̄ ̄ ̄𑀫𑁆] [Pres. by the E. I. C.[1]]

[1] Nos. 564–566 are coins from the Kālighāt hoard (1783) presented by Warren Hastings through the Court of Directors of the East India Co. Nos. 562, 563, and 567 are almost certainly from the same hoard (cf. Marsden, p. 726); and the fact that nos. 568, 569 have been vigorously cleaned may be evidence that they once had a deposit of Ganges mud and are coins from this hoard.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
566	144·8	Æ ·8	Similar.	 ;  [Pres. by the E. I. C.[1]] **Pl. XXII. 11.**
567	144·4	Æ ·8		 ;  [Miss Sarah Banks collection.[1]] **Pl. XXII. 12.**
568	147·0	Æ ·8		[—] ;  [Cunningham, 1894.[1]] *C.M.I.*, p. 18, Pl. II. 1.
569	144·0	Æ ·8		 ; [⌒]  [⌣] [Cunningham, 1894.[1]]

[1] See note on opposite page.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			KUMĀRAGUPTA II KRAMĀDITYA (*c.* A. D. 530–540)	
			Archer Type.	
			Class I.	
			King nimbate, standing l., holding bow in l. hand and arrow in r. Garuḍa standard on l.  (*Ku*) with crescent above beneath l. arm. Traces of marginal legend which ends  possibly (*Kumāragu*)*pta*(*ḥ*).	Goddess (Lakṣmī), nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding fillet in r. hand and lotus in l. Symbol on l. On r.  (*Kramādityaḥ*)
570	139·5	*M* ·8	on l.	 [Barstow, 1892.] **Pl. XXII. 13.**
571	143·0	*M* ·8	[] on l.	 [Yeaman, 1858.] **Pl. XXII. 14.**

J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 97; 1893, p. 120.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Class II.	
			Coins of ruder fabric.	
			Var. *a*. *go* between feet.	
			As in Class I. 𑀓𑀼 (*ku*) with crescent above beneath l. arm. 𑀖𑀴 (*go*) between king's feet. Legend around 𑀫𑀳𑀸𑀭𑀸𑀚𑀸𑀥𑀺𑀭𑀸𑀚 𑀰𑀻-𑀓𑀼𑀫𑀸𑀭 𑀕𑀼𑀧𑁆𑀢 𑀓𑁆𑀭𑀫𑀸𑀤𑀺𑀢𑁆𑀬𑁄 (*Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Kumāragupta-Kramādityaḥ*)	As in Class I, but legend 𑀰𑀻-𑀓𑁆𑀭𑀫𑀸𑀤𑀺𑀢𑁆𑀬𑁄 (*Śrī-Kramādityaḥ*)
572	148·1	Æ ·75	No trace of inscr.	𑀖𑀴 ; 𑀰𑀻-𑀓𑀼[‿] [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. XXII. 15.**
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 97 ; 1893, p. 129.	
573	147·0	Æ ·8		𑀖𑀴 ; 𑀰𑀻-𑀓𑀼𑀮[◡] [Cunningham, 1894.]
			Ibid., and *C.M.I.*, p. 18, Pl. II. 2.	
574	147·0	Æ ·8		𑀖𑀴 ; 𑀰𑀻-𑀓𑀼𑀮[𑀕𑁄] [Marsden, MLII.[1]] **Pl. XXIII. 1.**
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 97 ; 1893, p. 129.	

[1] See note on p. 142.

No.	Wt	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
575	150·3	Æ ·8	No trace of inscr.	[— ; [˘] [Cracherode Gift.[1]]
576	151·0	Æ ·85		[—]; [˘] [I. O. C., 1882.[1]]
577	149·2	Æ ·8	[˘] on r.	; [˘] [Pres. by the E. I. C.[1]] **Pl. XXIII. 2.**
578	150·2	Æ ·8		[—]; [˘] [Pres. by the E. I. C.[1]]
579	150·1	Æ ·8		; [˘] [Pres. by the E. I. C.[1]] **Pl. XXIII. 3.**
580	150·6	Æ ·8		[—]; [˘] [Pres. by the E. I. C.[1]]
			Var. *β*. *jā* between feet.	
			As preceding, but É (*jā*) between king's feet.	As preceding.
581	148·7	Æ ·8	Traces of inscr.	[—]; [Payne Knight.[1]] **Pl. XXIII. 4.**

Num. Vet., p. 205, A. 1; *J.R.A.S.*, 1889, p. 97, Pl. II. 12; 1893, p. 129.

[1] Nos. 577–580 and 585–587 are from the Kālighāt hoard, presented by Warren Hastings (cf. note on p. 138), while nos. 574–576 and 581–585 are almost certainly from it.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
582	147·5	Æ ·8	[ ]	[ ]; [ ]
				[Marsden, MLIII.[1]]
				Pl. XXIII. 5.
				J.R.A.S, 1889, p. 97; 1893, p. 129.
583	147·8	Æ ·8	[ ]	;
				[Cracherode Gift.[1]]
584	147·0	Æ ·8		[—]; [ ]
				[Payne Knight.[1]]
				Num. Vet., p. 205. A. 2.
585	146·8	Æ ·8	[ ][ ]	; [ ]
				[Pres. by the E. I. C.[1]]
586	146·0	Æ ·8		;
				[Pres. by the E. I. C.[1]]
587	147·2	Æ ·8	[ ]	; [ ]
				[Pres. by the E. I. C.[1]]

[1] See note on opposite page.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			Vasiṣṭha ~~CANDRA~~GUPTA ~~II~~ DVĀDAŚĀDITYA (date uncertain, between A. D. 480 and 560) **Archer Type.**	
			King nimbate, standing l., holding bow and arrow as usual. Garuḍa standard on l. Beneath l. arm  (~~Candra~~) Vasiṣṭha with crescent above. 𑖦𑖽 (*bhā*) between feet. Inscr. uncertain, perhaps similar to Skandagupta, Class II; it ends 𑖪𑖿𑖨𑖽𑖦𑖽𑖪𑖿𑖫: (*Dvādaśādityaḥ*)	Goddess nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding fillet in r. hand and lotus in l.; border of dots. Symbol on l. 𑖨𑖿𑖪𑖿𑖨𑖦𑖽𑖪𑖿𑖫: (*Śrī-Dvādaśādityaḥ*)
588	144·5	*AV* ·8	𑖨𑖦 on r.; [𑖦𑖽𑖪𑖿𑖫] on l.	[—]; [𑖐]𑖪𑖿𑖨𑖦𑖽𑖪𑖿𑖫: [Marsden, MLVI.[1]] **Pl. XXIII. 6.**
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 82, Pl. II. 2.	
589	148·0	*AV* ·8	𑖨𑖦 on r.; 𑖪𑖿𑖨𑖦𑖽𑖪𑖿𑖫:	[—]; 𑖨𑖿𑖪𑖿𑖨𑖦𑖽𑖪𑖿𑖫 [Marsden, MLI.[1]] **Pl. XXIII. 7.**
			J.R.A.S., 1889, p. 82.	
590	144·7	*AV* ·8	[𑖫] on l.	𑖨𑖿; 𑖨𑖿𑖪𑖿𑖨𑖦𑖽𑖪𑖿𑖫 [Townley.[1]] **Pl. XXIII. 8.**
			Ibid.	

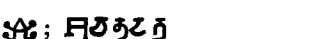
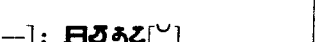
[1] These coins are presumably from the Kālighāt hoard.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.

VIṢṆU[GUPTA] CANDRĀDITYA

c. A. D. 540–560?

Archer Type.

			King, nimbate, standing l., holding bow and arrow. Garuḍa standard on l. (*Viṣṇu*) beneath l. arm, with crescent above.  (*ru*) between feet.	Goddess, nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding fillet in r. and lotus in l. hand. Symbol on l.  (*Śrī-Candrādityaḥ*)
591	149·0	Æ ·8	No trace of marginal legend.	 [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. XXIII. 9.**
			C.M.I., Pl. II. 4.	
592	150·6	Æ ·75		 [Spink, 1910.] **Pl. XXIII. 10.**
593	149·0	Æ ·8		[I. O. C., 1882.[1]]
594	151·0	Æ ·8		 [I. O. C., 1882.[1]] **Pl. XXIII. 11.**
595	149·8	Æ ·8		[—];  [I. O. C., 1882.[1]] **Pl. XXIII. 12.**

[1] Nos. 596–605 are from the Kālighāt hoard, as are presumably 593–595.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
596	148·5	Æ ·7	No trace of marginal legend.	[—]; [ ]  [Pres. by the E. I. C.[1]]
597	147·4	Æ ·75		;  [Pres. by the E. I. C.[1]]
598	150·1	Æ ·75		 [Pres. by the E. I. C.[1]]
599	149·2	Æ ·75		;  [Pres. by the E. I. C.[1]]
600	149·5	Æ ·75		Illegible. [Pres. by the E. I. C.[1]]
601	148·8	Æ ·75		[—];  [Pres. by the E. I. C.[1]]
602	149·6	Æ ·75		Illegible. [Payne Knight.[1]] *Num. Vet.*, A. 3, p. 205.
603	148·5	Æ ·8		Illegible. [Pres. by the E. I, C.[1]]
604	152·0	Æ ·8		; [Pres. by the E. I. C.[1]] **Pl. XXIII. 18.**
605	148·4	Æ ·8		; [Pres. by the E. I. C.[1]]

[1] See footnote on p. 145.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			ŚAŚĀṄKA, *c.* A. D. 600–625 King of Gauḍa (Karṇa-Suvarṇa)	
			Śiva, nimbate, reclining to l. on bull (Nandi) to l., with l. hand uplifted, holding uncertain object; moon (*śaśāṅka*) above on l. On r.  (*Śrī-Śa*) below.  (*jaya*).	Goddess (Lakṣmī), nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding lotus in l. hand which rests on knee, and with outstretched r. hand empty; above, on either side, elephant sprinkling water over her (*abhiṣeka*). No symbol. On r.  (*Śrī-Śaśāṅkaḥ*)
606	145·0	*A* ·8		 [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. XXIII. 14.**
			C.M.I., Pl. II. 5.	
607	145·3	*A* ·75		[] [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. XXIII. 15.**
608	146·9	*A* ·8		[] [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. XXIII. 16.**
609	145·5	*A* ·8		[] [A. Grant, 1885.] **Pl. XXIV. 1.**
610	133·7 (*plated*)	*A* ·8		 [Thomas, 1850.]

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
611	141·5 (*broken*)	Æ ·85		
–	—	Æ ·8		 [St. Petersburg.]
612	85·0	Æ ·75	(?)	Lakṣmī holds lotus in r. hand also; without *abhiṣeka*.  [Payne Knight.]

Pl. XXIV. 2.

Num. Vet., B. 2, p. 206.

This piece, which is distinguished by weight, purity of metal, and fabric from the preceding, seems to be a contemporary imitation, and may be compared with nos. 620–622.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			UNATTRIBUTED COINS OF GUPTA TYPES	
			GHAṬO[TKACAGUPTA]	
			Archer Type.	
–	—	Æ ·8	King, nimbate, standing to l., holding bow in l. hand and arrow in r. Garuḍa standard on l. Beneath l. arm 𑀖𑀝 (*Ghaṭo*) with crescent above. Traces of inscr. on l.	Goddess (Lakṣmī), nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding lotus in l. and fillet in outstretched r. hand. 𑀓 on l. On r. 𑀓𑀫𑀸𑀤𑀺𑀢𑁆𑀬𑀲𑁆 (*Kramādityaḥ*) [St. Petersburg.] **Pl. XXIV. 3.**
			[——] NARENDRĀDITYA.	
–	148·2	Æ ·9	King standing l., holding bow in l. hand and arrow in r. Bull (Nandi) standard on l. Beneath l. arm 𑀅 𑀮 (?) between feet 𑀙 (*ca*). No trace of marginal legend.	Goddess (Lakṣmī), nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding lotus in l. and fillet in outstretched r. hand. Symbol (?) on l. 𑀲𑁆𑀭𑀻-𑀦𑀭𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭𑀸𑀤𑀺𑀢𑁆𑀬𑀲𑁆 (*Śrī-Narendrādityaḥ*) [Indian Museum.] **Pl. XXIV. 4.**

I. M. Cat., i, p. 120, no. 1, Pl. XVI. 11.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			[——] NARENDRĀDITYA.	
–	149·0	Æ ·8	King, nimbate, seated on couch with head to l., l. hand raised and r. resting at side; female attendant on either side (*rājalīlā*). Above, 𑀬 𑀫 (*Yama*?) beneath couch, 𑀥 (*dha*).	Goddess (Lakṣmī), nimbate, standing l., holding lotus in outstretched r. hand; behind her a lotus plant, and at her feet a *haṁsa*. 𑀰𑀺𑀭𑁄𑀦𑀭𑁂𑀦𑁆𑀤𑁆𑀭𑀸𑀤𑀺𑀢𑁆𑀬𑀲𑁃: (*Śrī-Narendrāditya-ḥ*) [Indian Museum.] **Pl. XXIV. 5.**
			I. M. Cat., i, p. 122, no. 1, Pl. XVI. 13; *J.A.S.B.*, 1852, Pl. XII. 11 (found in Jessore with a coin of Śaśāṅka).	
			JAYA[GUPTA] **Archer Type.**	
			King, nimbate, standing l., holding bow in l. hand and arrow in r. *Cakra* standard on l. Beneath l. arm 𑀚 𑀬 (*Jaya*) No trace of marginal legend.	Goddess (Lakṣmī), nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding lotus in l. and fillet in outstretched r. hand; above, on l., an elephant sprinkling her. 𑀰𑀺𑀭𑁄𑀧𑁆𑀭𑀓𑀸𑀡𑁆𑀝𑀬𑀲𑀸𑀲𑁃: (*Śrī-Prakāṇḍayasāḥ*?)
613	131·8	Æ ·8	𑀚 𑀬; king's head l.	𑀰𑀺𑀭𑁄𑀧𑁆𑀭𑀓𑀸𑀡𑁆𑀝𑀬𑀲𑀸𑀲𑁃 [Eden, 1853.] **Pl. XXIV. 6.**
614	139·0	Æ ·8	𑀚 𑀬; king's head facing.	[𑀰𑀺𑀭𑁄 ⁻ ⁻ 𑀲𑁃] [Cunningham, 1853.] **Pl. XXIV. 7.**
			C.M.I., Pl. II. 3.	

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
–	117·8	Æ ·8 (*plated*)	 ; king's head l.	Legend obliterated; elephant on l. distinct. [In Mr. J. Stephens Blackett's collection.] **Pl. XXIV. 8.**
–	137·0	Æ ·8	 ; king's head facing.	[illegible] [In the Hon. Mr. R. Burn's collection.] **Pl. XXIV. 9.**

JAYAGUPTA

(Probably distinct from the preceding)

Copper.

–	19·8	Æ ·7 × ·6	Bust r. (?)	Garuḍa standing facing. [illegible] [*Ja*]*yagu*[*ptaḥ*] [Indian Museum.] **Pl. XXIV. 10.**

I. M. Cat., i, p. 121, no. 1, Pl. XVII. 10.

VĪRASENA (?)

Bull Type.

			Bull standing r. Above, [illegible] (*Śrī-Vīrasena*?) Characters (?) at feet.	Goddess (Lakṣmī), nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding lotus in l. and fillet in r. hand. [illegible] (*Kramādityaḥ*)
615	162·5	Æ ·65	[illegible] (?)	[illegible] [Pres. by Colonel Rivett-Carnac, 1889.] **Pl. XXIV. 11.**

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
–	161·7	Æ ·65	[illegible] (?)	[illegible] [Indian Museum.] **Pl. XXIV. 12.**

Rivett-Carnac collection; *I. M. Cat.*, i, p. 122, no. 1 (*bis*), Pl. XVI. 14 (found with the preceding near Benares).

HARIGUPTA (?)

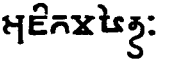
616	41·0	Æ ·6	Flower vase (*kalaśa*) on a pedestal.	[illegible] [*Śrī-*]*mahār*[*āja*] [illegible] [*Ha*]*riguptasya* [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. XXIV. 16.**

'From Ahicchatra'; *C.M.I.*, Pl. II. 6, p. 19.

The reading of this coin is very uncertain. *-guptasya* alone can be considered certain.

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse and Reverse.
			GUPTAS OF EASTERN MĀLWA
			BUDHAGUPTA, *c.* A. D. 480–500
			Obv. Head to r. with date in Brāhmī characters in front.
			Rev. Peacock standing facing with head to l., wings and tail outspread.
			Inscr. (III)
			𑀯𑀺𑀚𑀺𑀢𑀯𑀸𑀦𑀺𑀧𑀢𑀺[:]𑀩𑀼𑀥𑀕𑀼𑀧𑁆𑀢𑁄𑀤𑀺𑀯𑀺𑀚𑀬𑀢𑀺
			(*Vijitāvanir avanipati(ḥ) Śrī-Budhagupto divi jayati*)
			(Metre: Upagīti.)
617	38·3	Æ ·55	*Obv.* ꣑꣕꣖ [=175]
			Rev. 𑀯𑀺[𑀚𑁆𑀬𑀸]𑀧𑀢𑀺𑀩𑀼𑀥𑀕𑀼𑀧𑁆𑀢𑁄𑀤𑀺𑀯𑀺𑀚𑀬𑀢𑀺
			Pl. XXIV. 13. [Cunningham, 1894.]
618	33·6	Æ ·55	*Obv.* [꣑ ‾ ‾]
			Rev. 𑀯𑀺𑀚𑀺𑀢𑀯𑀸𑀦𑀺𑀧𑀢𑀺𑀩𑀼𑀥𑀕𑀼𑀧𑁆𑀢𑁄𑀤𑀺𑀯𑀺𑀚𑀬𑀢𑀺
			Pl. XXIV. 14. [Cunningham, 1894.]
619	33·8	Æ ·55	*Rev.* [‾ ‾ ‾ ‾ ‾ ‾ ‾]𑀧𑀢𑀺𑀩𑀼𑀥𑀕𑀼𑀧𑁆𑀢𑁄𑀤𑀺[‾ ‾]
			Pl. XXIV. 15. [Purchased, 1902.]

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			ANCIENT IMITATIONS OF GUPTA COINS CIRCULATING IN EASTERN BENGAL	
			Var. *α*.	
620	86·5	Æ ·85	King standing l., holding bow in l. hand and arrow in r.; on r. a horse; on l. horse-headed (?) standard. Border of dots. Above on l. श्री (*Śrī*).	Goddess standing r.; border of dots. On r. meaningless copy of Gupta inscr. (?). [Cunningham, 1894.] **Pl. XXIV. 17.**
			Var. *β*.	
621	92·5	Æ ·85	Similar, but without horse on r. and *Śrī* above.	Similar. [Prinsep, 1847.] **Pl. XXIV. 18.**
			Cf. *A.A.*, Pl. XVIII. 20.	
622	81·7	Æ ·85	Similar; crescent between king and standard.	Similar. [Swiney, 1869.] **Pl. XXIV. 19.**

No.	Wt.	Metal. Size.	Obverse.	Reverse.
			ADDENDA	
			KUMĀRAGUPTA I	
			Horseman Type. Class I.	
			Var. δ.	
218 *a*	125·7	Æ ·9	King riding on horseback to r., as in var. *a*, holding bow in l. hand as in Class II, but with bowstring inwards. Legend uncertain; it includes 	As in var. γ.  [H. Nelson Wright, **1913.**]
			Lion-slayer Type.	
			Var. *a*.	
233 *a*	124·7	Æ ·8	As on no. 233. 	As on no. 233.  [H. Nelson Wright, **1913.**]

This coin confirms the suggested (p. 77) restoration of *Narasiṅha* to complete the legend.

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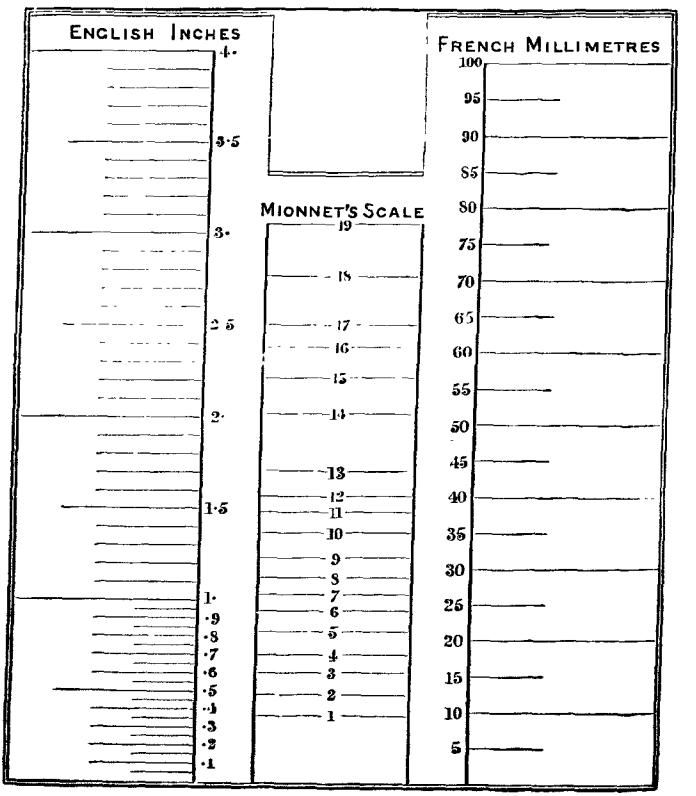
TABLE

FOR

CONVERTING ENGLISH INCHES INTO MILLIMETRES

AND THE

MEASURES OF MIONNET'S SCALE



TABLE

OF

THE RELATIVE WEIGHTS OF ENGLISH GRAINS AND METRIC GRAMMES

Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.
1	·064	41	2·656	81	5·248	121	7·840
2	·129	42	2·720	82	5·312	122	7·905
3	·194	43	2·785	83	5·378	123	7·970
4	·259	44	2·850	84	5·442	124	8·035
5	·324	45	2·915	85	5·508	125	8·100
6	·388	46	2·980	86	5·572	126	8·164
7	·453	47	3·045	87	5·637	127	8·229
8	·518	48	3·110	88	5·702	128	8·294
9	·583	49	3·175	89	5·767	129	8·359
10	·648	50	3·240	90	5·832	130	8·424
11	·712	51	3·304	91	5·896	131	8·488
12	·777	52	3·368	92	5·961	132	8·553
13	·842	53	3·434	93	6·026	133	8·618
14	·907	54	3·498	94	6·091	134	8·682
15	·972	55	3·564	95	6·156	135	8·747
16	1·036	56	3·628	96	6·220	136	8·812
17	1·101	57	3·693	97	6·285	137	8·877
18	1·166	58	3·758	98	6·350	138	8·942
19	1·231	59	3·823	99	6·415	139	9·007
20	1·296	60	3·888	100	6·480	140	9·072
21	1·360	61	3·952	101	6·544	141	9·136
22	1·425	62	4·017	102	6·609	142	9·200
23	1·490	63	4·082	103	6·674	143	9·265
24	1·555	64	4·146	104	6·739	144	9·330
25	1·620	65	4·211	105	6·804	145	9·395
26	1·684	66	4·276	106	6·868	146	9·460
27	1·749	67	4·341	107	6·933	147	9·525
28	1·814	68	4·406	108	6·998	148	9·590
29	1·879	69	4·471	109	7·063	149	9·655
30	1·944	70	4·536	110	7·128	150	9·720
31	2·008	71	4·600	111	7·192	151	9·784
32	2·073	72	4·665	112	7·257	152	9·848
33	2·138	73	4·729	113	7·322	153	9·914
34	2·202	74	4·794	114	7·387	154	9·978
35	2·267	75	4·859	115	7·452	155	10·044
36	2·332	76	4·924	116	7·516	156	10·108
37	2·397	77	4·989	117	7·581	157	10·173
38	2·462	78	5·054	118	7·646	158	10·238
39	2·527	79	5·119	119	7·711	159	10·303
40	2·592	80	5·184	120	7·776	160	10·368

TABLE

OF

THE RELATIVE WEIGHTS OF ENGLISH GRAINS AND METRIC GRAMMES

Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.
161	10·432	201	13·024	241	15·616	290	18·79
162	10·497	202	13·089	242	15·680	300	19·44
163	10·562	203	13·154	243	15·745	310	20·08
164	10·626	204	13·219	244	15·810	320	20·73
165	10·691	205	13·284	245	15·875	330	21·38
166	10·756	206	13·348	246	15·940	340	22·02
167	10·821	207	13·413	247	16·005	350	22·67
168	10·886	208	13·478	248	16·070	360	23·32
169	10·951	209	13·543	249	16·135	370	23·97
170	11·016	210	13·608	250	16·200	380	24·62
171	11·080	211	13·672	251	16·264	390	25·27
172	11·145	212	13·737	252	16·328	400	25·92
173	11·209	213	13·802	253	16·394	410	26·56
174	11·274	214	13·867	254	16·458	420	27·20
175	11·339	215	13·932	255	16·524	430	27·85
176	11·404	216	13·996	256	16·588	440	28·50
177	11·469	217	14·061	257	16·653	450	29·15
178	11·534	218	14·126	258	16·718	460	29·80
179	11·599	219	14·191	259	16·783	470	30·45
180	11·664	220	14·256	260	16·848	480	31·10
181	11·728	221	14·320	261	16·912	490	31·75
182	11·792	222	14·385	262	16·977	500	32·40
183	11·858	223	14·450	263	17·042	510	33·04
184	11·922	224	14·515	264	17·106	520	33·68
185	11·988	225	14·580	265	17·171	530	34·34
186	12·052	226	14·644	266	17·236	540	34·98
187	12·117	227	14·709	267	17·301	550	35·64
188	12·182	228	14·774	268	17·366	560	36·28
189	12·247	229	14·839	269	17·431	570	36·93
190	12·312	230	14·904	270	17·496	580	37·58
191	12·376	231	14·968	271	17·560	590	38·23
192	12·441	232	15·033	272	17·625	600	38·88
193	12·506	233	15·098	273	17·689	700	45·36
194	12·571	234	15·162	274	17·754	800	51·84
195	12·636	235	15·227	275	17·819	900	58·32
196	12·700	236	15·292	276	17·884	1000	64·80
197	12·765	237	15·357	277	17·949	2000	129·60
198	12·830	238	15·422	278	18·014	3000	194·40
199	12·895	239	15·487	279	18·079	4000	259·20
200	12·960	240	15·552	280	18·144	5000	324·00



SAMUDRAGUPTA: STANDARD TYPE



SAMUDRAGUPTA: STANDARD, KĀCA AND TIGER TYPES



1



2 I. M.



3 St. Pet.



4











5 Hoey



6



7 G. P.



8



9













10



11



12



13













14 St. Pet.





15 Berlin

SAMUDRAGUPTA: CANDRAGUPTA I TYPE



SAMUDRAGUPTA: ARCHER AND BATTLE-AXE TYPES



SAMUDRAGUPTA: LYRIST AND AŚVAMEDHA TYPES



CANDRAGUPTA II: ARCHER AND COUCH TYPES



CANDRAGUPTA II: ARCHER TYPE



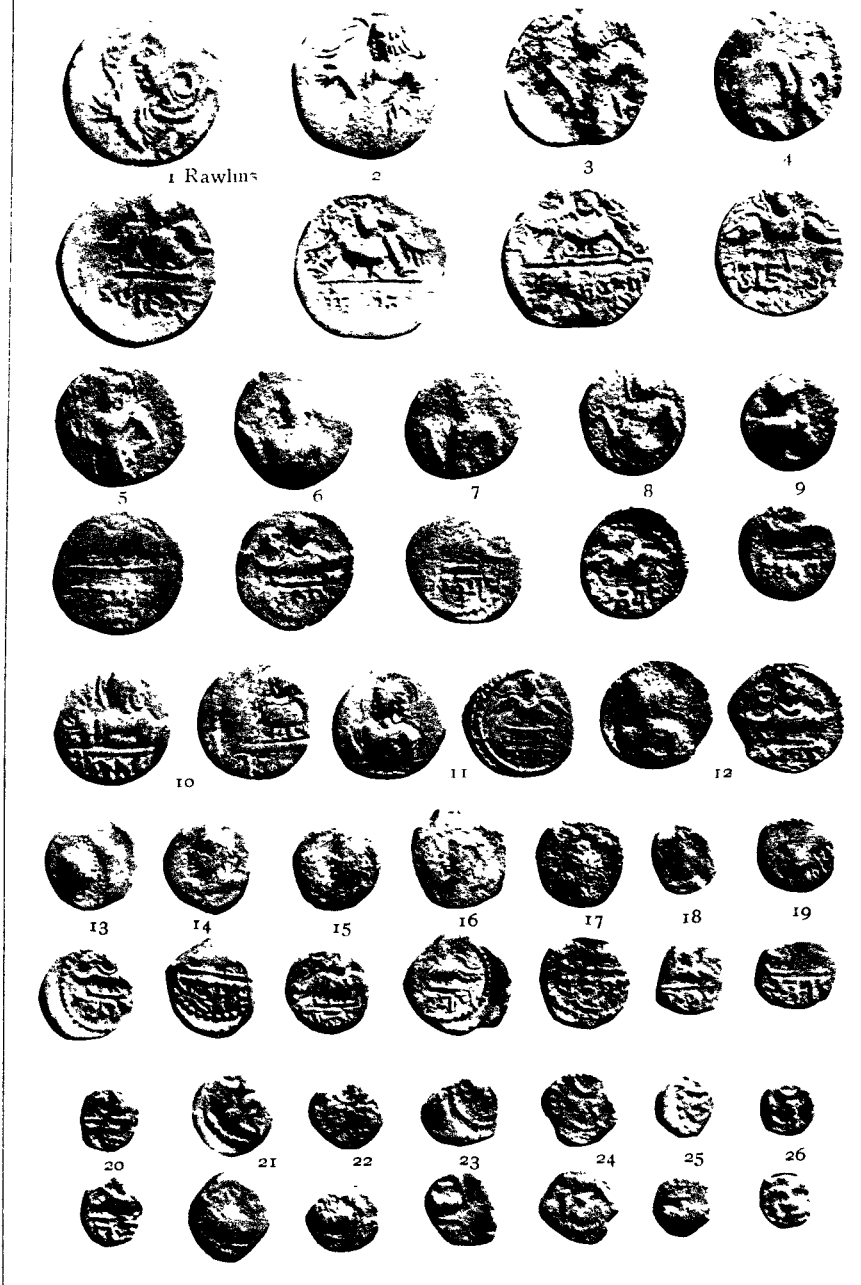
CANDRAGUPTA II: CHATTRA AND LION-SLAYER TYPES



CANDRAGUPTA II: LION-SLAYER AND HORSEMAN TYPES



CANDRAGUPTA II: HORSEMAN TYPE, SILVER AND COPPER



CANDRAGUPTA II: COPPER



KUMĀRAGUPTA I: ARCHER AND SWORDSMAN TYPES



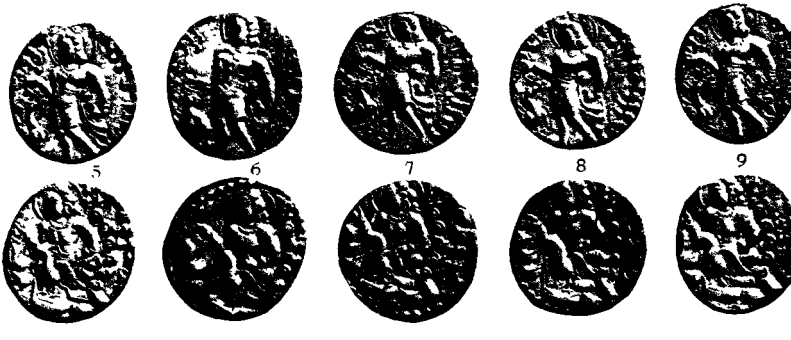
KUMĀRAGUPTA I: HORSEMAN TYPE



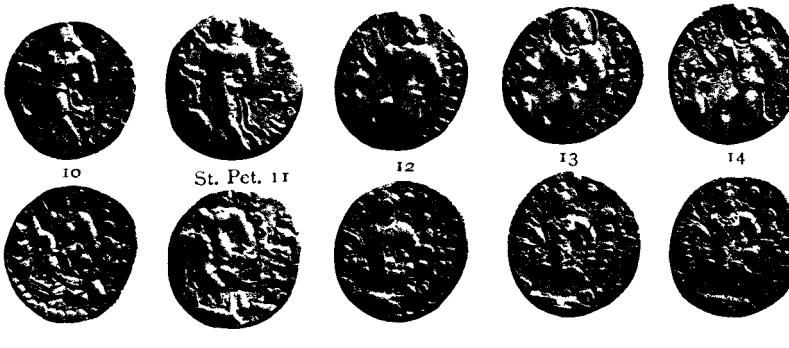
KUMĀRAGUPTA I: LION-SLAYER TYPE



1 2 3 I. M. 4



5 6 7 8 9



10 St. Pet. 11 12 13 14



15 16 I. M.

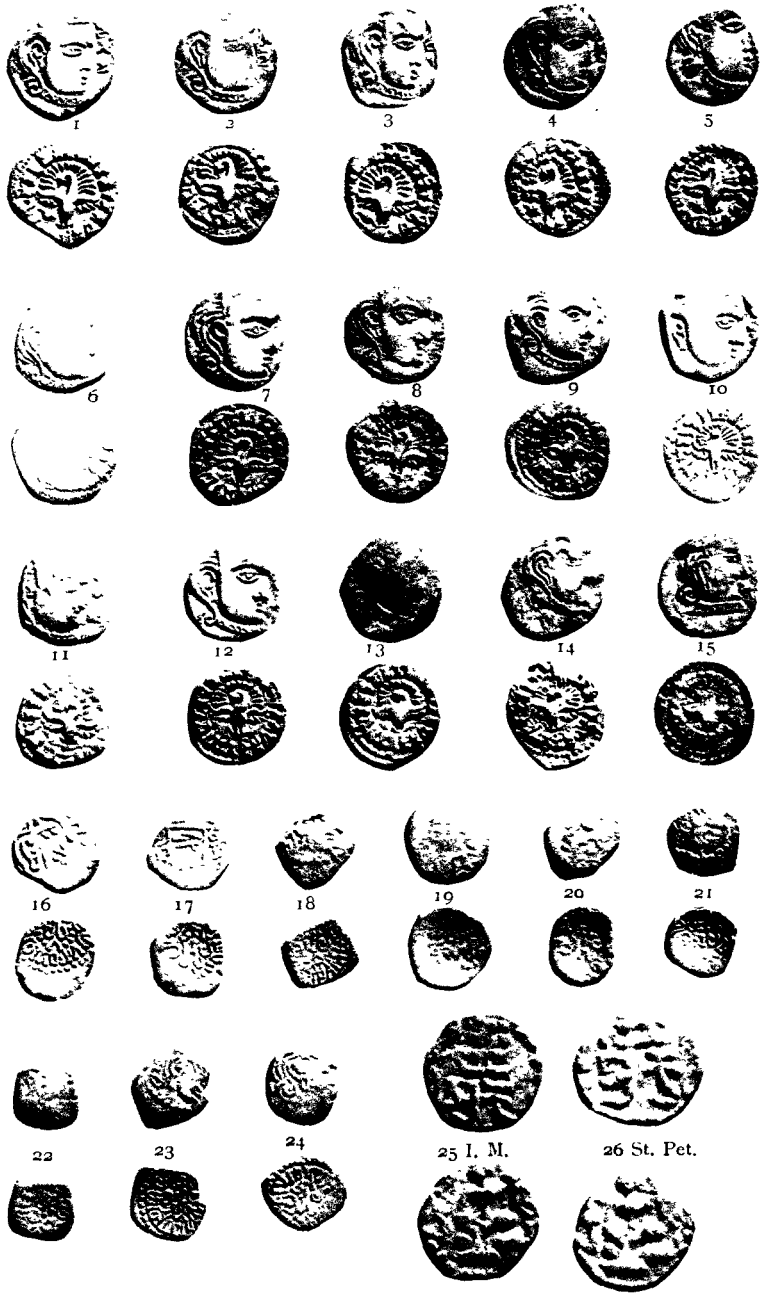
KUMĀRAGUPTA: LION-SLAYER, PEACOCK, ETC. TYPES



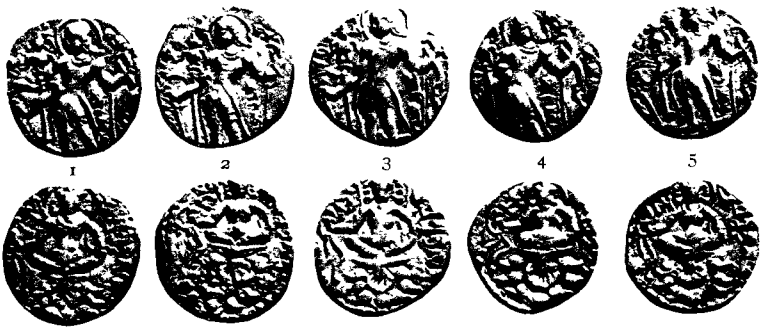
KUMĀRAGUPTA I: SILVER



KUMĀRAGUPTA I: SILVER



KUMĀRAGUPTA I: SILVER AND COPPER



1 2 3 4 5

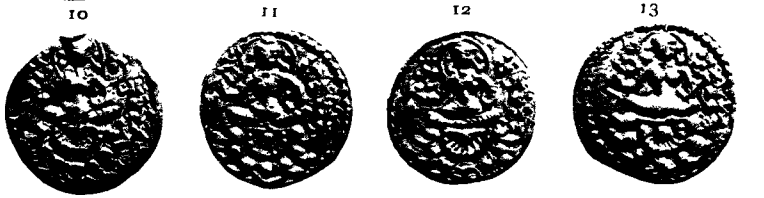


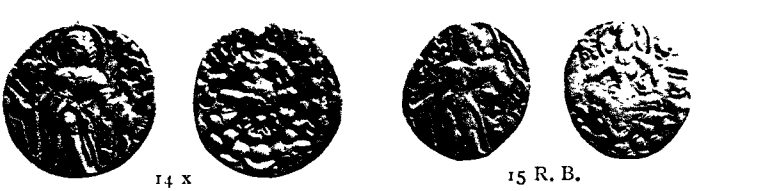
6 7 8 I. M. 9 Paris





10 11 12 13



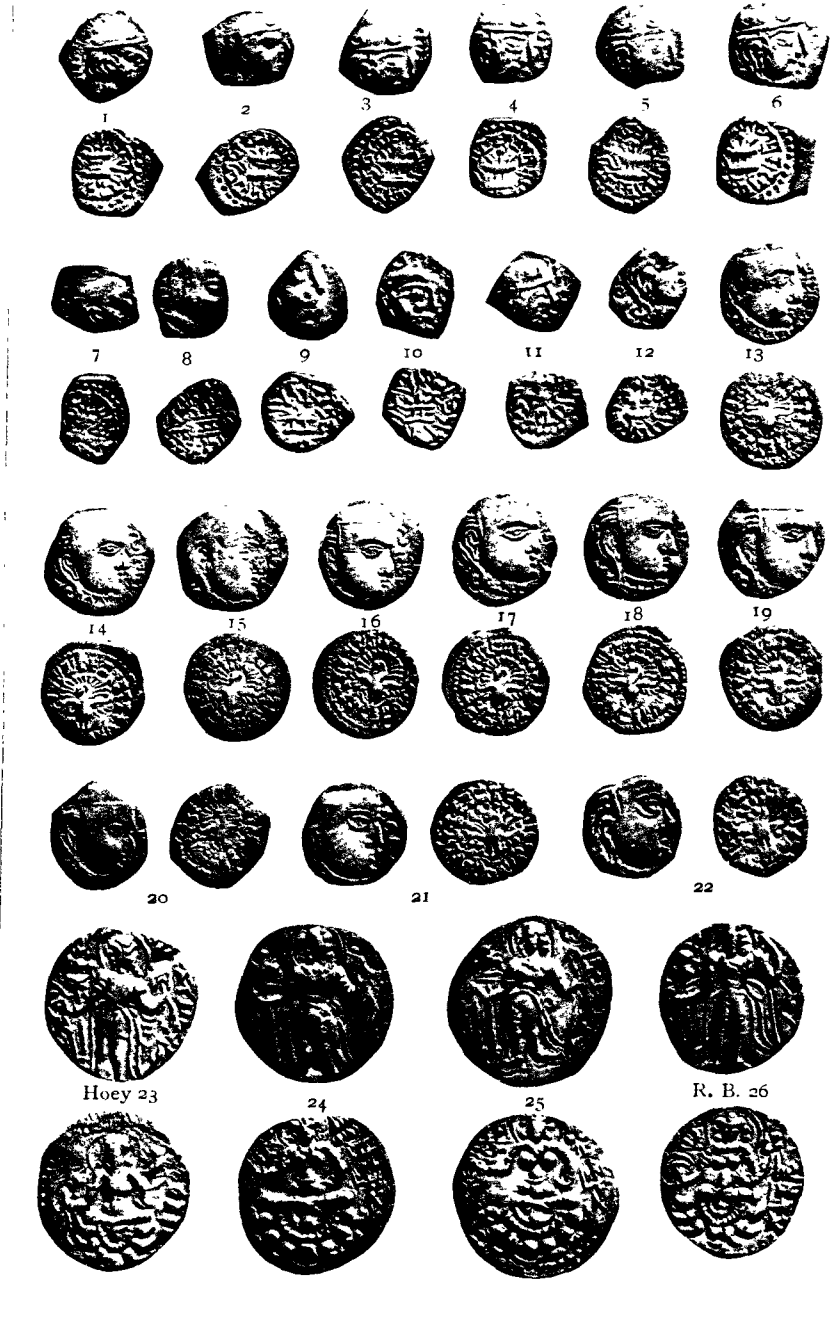


14 x 15 R. B.

SKANDAGUPTA: ARCHER AND LAKṢMĪ TYPES



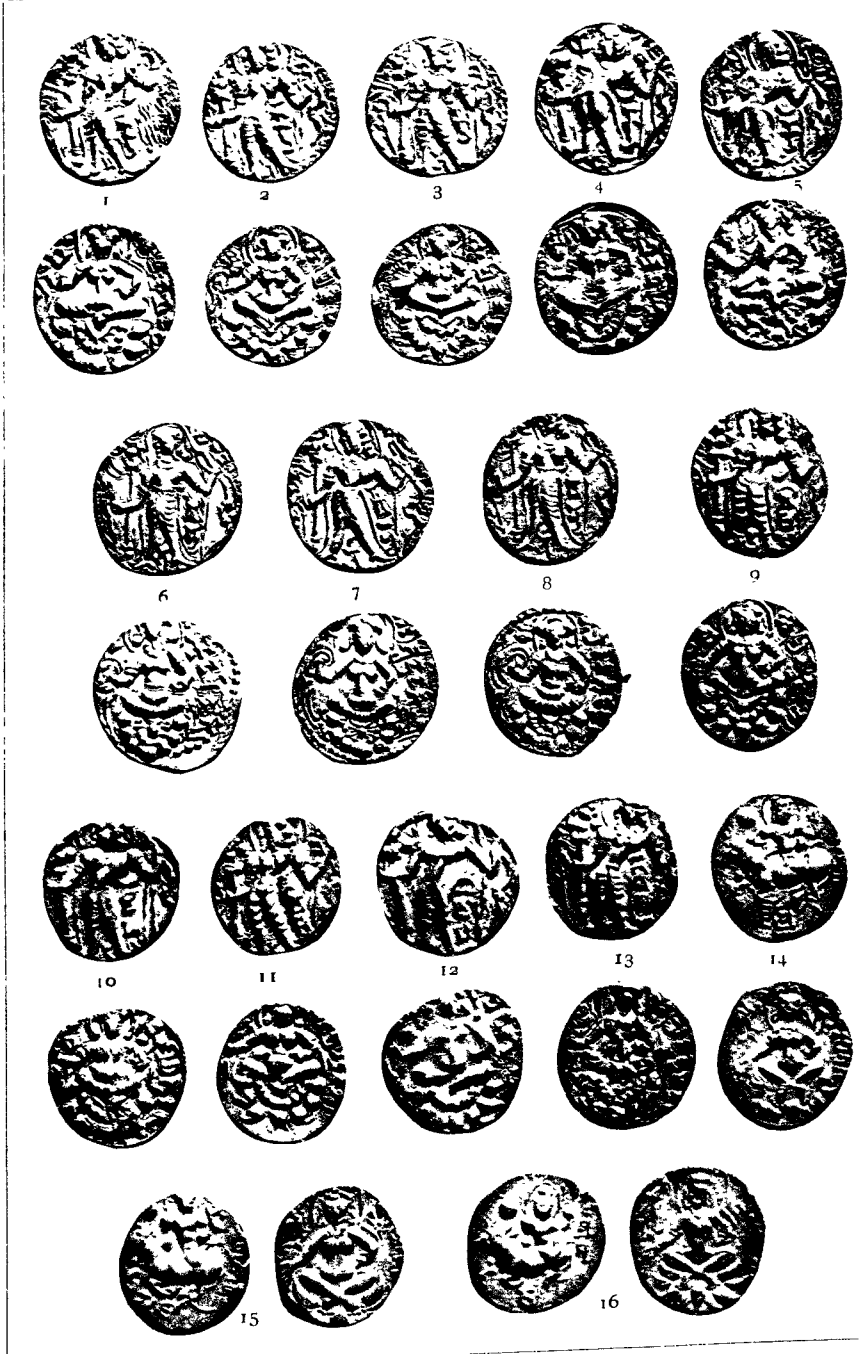
SKANDAGUPTA: ARCHER TYPE AND SILVER



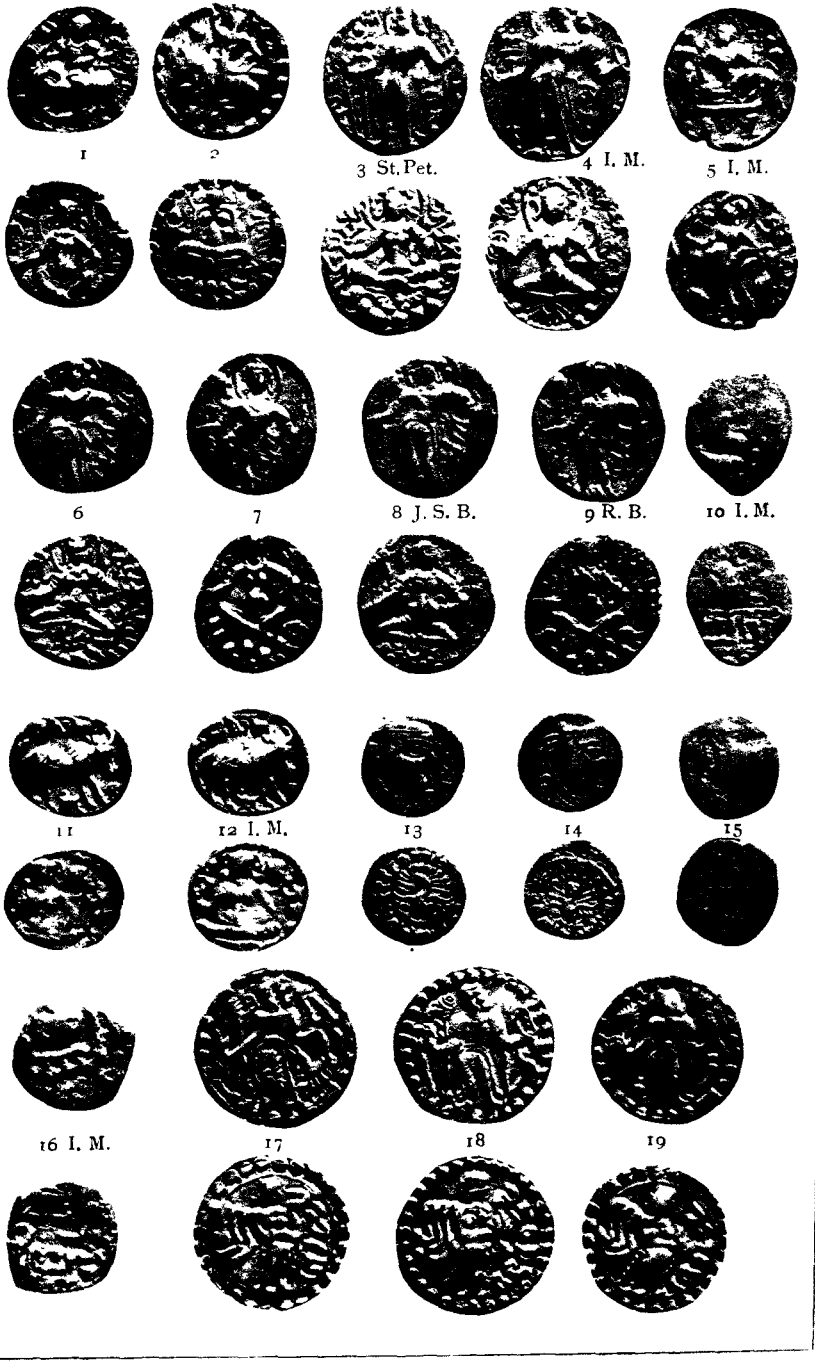
SKANDAGUPTA: SILVER; PURAGUPTA: ARCHER TYPE



PRAKĀŚADITYA (PURAGUPTA?); NARASIṄHAGUPTA; KUMĀRAGUPTA II



KUMĀRAGUPTA II; ~~GANDRAGUPTA III~~; VIṢṆUGUPTA; ŚAŚĀṄKA



SAŚĀNKA: VARIOUS UNATTRIBUTED





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